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28 March 1983

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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28 March 1983

# CHINA REPORT

## POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 404

### CONTENTS

#### PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

##### INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR Soldiers Defect, Tell of DRA Conditions (XINHUA, 20 Feb 83) .....	1
Yugoslavia To Strengthen All-People's Defense (XINHUA, 26 Feb 83) .....	2
PRC's Qian Qichen Departs for Moscow 27 Feb (KYODO, 26 Feb 83) .....	3
SFRY President on Domestic, Foreign Policies (XINHUA, 2 Mar 83) .....	4
Yugoslav LCY Central Committee Holds Plenum (XINHUA, 2 Mar 83) .....	5
Briefs Romania, Bulgaria To Expand Cooperation .....	7

##### PARTY AND STATE

'JIEFANG RIBAO' Discusses Provisions of New Constitution (JIEFANG RIBAO, various dates) .....	8
People's Fundamental Rights, Duties State's Organization .....	
Cadres Urged to Popularize, Implement New Constitution (Editorial; LIAONING RIBAO, 6 Dec 82) .....	14
Special Region Status Proposed for Taiwan, Hong Kong (Chen Tiqiang; ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO, 11 Feb 83) .....	16

Party Members, Cadres Warned Not To Abuse Power of Office (Guo Jidong; LIAONING RIBAO, 22 Nov 82) .....	20
Self-Serving Shortsightedness Scored (Li Qingmin; LIAONING RIBAO, 12 Dec 82) .....	22
Liaoning CPPCC Studies New Constitution (LIAONING RIBAO, 26 Dec 82) .....	24
Liaoning Heeds Party Congress Guidelines on Reform, Production (LIAONING RIBAO, 18 Nov 82) .....	27
Liaoning Holds Standing Committee Chairmen Meeting (LIAONING RIBAO, 29 Dec 82) .....	28
Liaoning Concludes 5th Session of CPPCC (LIAONING RIBAO, 30 Dec 82) .....	29
Study of 12th Party Congress Documents Launched (LIAONING RIBAO, 25 Nov 82) .....	31
Exemplary Deeds Studied by Shenyang Party Forum (LIAONING RIBAO, 4 Dec 82) .....	33
Improvement of Shanghai's Economic Construction Urged (Editorial; WEN HUI BAO, 31 Dec 82) .....	35
Shanghai CPC Committee Launches Propaganda Program To Cure Social Ills (WEN HUI BAO, 29 Dec 82) .....	38
Ideological Rectification, Overcoming Leftist Mistakes Urged (Tian Buguang; HEBEI RIBAO, 3 Dec 82) .....	40
Confusion of Egalitarian Ideas for Communism Scored (Feng Yingzi; JIEFANG RIBAO, 12 Dec 82) .....	43
Hebei Holds Rotational Training for Party Members (Zhao Fengde; HEBEI RIBAO, 11 Jan 83) .....	45
Starting Points for Ushering in New Situation Outlined (Chen Junsheng; FENDOU, 10 Jan 83) .....	47
Prompt Handling of Problems Stressed (Hua Min; LIAONING RIBAO, 29 Dec 82) .....	50
Benefits of Law to People Discussed (Zhang Shengyuan; JIEFANG RIBAO, 9 Dec 82) .....	52
Importance of Leadership Supporters Stressed (He Peide; LIAONING RIBAO, 8 Dec 82) .....	54

Shanghai College Students Urged To Study Ideological-Political Work (JIEFANG RIBAO, 9 Nov 82) .....	56
University With Self-Study Programs Opens for PLA Cadres (Wang Jianxun, et al,; BEIJING RIBAO, 23 Jan 83) .....	58
Need for Accurate Material on Party History Emphasized (Zou Aiguo; RENMIN RIBAO, 7 Feb 83) .....	59
Two Kinds of Winds Discussed (LIAONING RIBAO, 12 Jan 83) .....	62
Value of Independent Thinking Discussed (Liu Guangping; LIAONING RIBAO, 12 Jan 83) .....	64
Ways to Strengthen Confidence in Communism Described (Wang Chengfu; XUE LILUN, 1 Jan 83) .....	66
Responsibility of Each Generation of Communists Discussed (You Gan; XINHUA RIBAO, 5 Oct 82) .....	70
SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE	
'GUANGMING RIBAO' on Lu Xun's View of Patriotism (Li Hongran; GUANGMING RIBAO, 23 Feb 83) .....	75
Study of Existing State of Literature, Art Urged (RENMIN RIBAO, Feb 83) .....	83
Reform in Management of Professional Writers Advocated (Gao Guang; RENMIN RIBAO, 2 Feb 83) .....	85
Education, Science, Intellectuals Said Keys to Modernization (Shi Ping; HUADONG SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO, 30 Oct 82) .....	89

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

USSR SOLDIERS DEFECT, TELL OF DRA CONDITIONS

OW201954 Beijing XINHUA in English 1523 GMT 20 Feb 83

[Text] Beijing, 20 Feb (XINHUA)--Young Soviet soldiers who defected to Afghan guerrilla forces said they were sick of "killing women and children," according to a signed article carried in the NEW YORK POST on 17 February.

The defectors told ABC's correspondent how shocked they were to learn the true nature of the Soviet invasion, the article said.

It continued: "'The officers told us that Afghanistan is full of foreign mercenaries and we have to fight back the aggression. But it was a pure lie," said Valery Kisilev, a 20-year-old private.

"What aggression? I did not see any aggression here, only Afghanistan people who took arms in their hands to protect their own country," he said.

Private Sergey Meshcherlykov, 26, said he defected because he does not want to "kill women and children," the article noted.

"We realized that these were ordinary people, from the settlements, the actual people of Afghanistan," the article quoted Sgt Grisha Suleymonov, 20, as saying.

CSO: 4000/79

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

YUGOSLAVIA TO STRENGTHEN ALL-PEOPLE'S DEFENSE

OW260842 Beijing XINHUA in English 0812 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Feb (XINHUA)--The presidency of Yugoslavia today stressed the need for further engagement of all organized socialist forces of the Yugoslav community to strengthen the system of all-people's defense and social self-defence.

This was pointed out at a meeting held at Karadjordjevo (autonomous province of Vojvodina) today, at which members of the Military Council of the Yugoslav Armed Forces informed the presidency of Yugoslavia and other high ranking federation officials about the state of defense preparations in society, the fundamental tasks and further development of the armed forces.

According to a TANJUG report, the presidency highly appraised the results achieved in developing all components of the Yugoslav defense system. Special emphasis was placed on the results in raising the combat capability of the Yugoslav people's army and the territorial defense, their combat preparedness to defend the sovereignty, independence and revolutionary achievements of socialist Yugoslavia.

CSO: 4000/79

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

PRC'S QIAN QICHEN DEPARTS FOR MOSCOW 27 FEB

OW260527 Tokyo KYODO in English 0519 GMT 26 Feb 83

[Text] Beijing, 26 Feb (KYODO)--Chinese Vice Foreign Minister Qian Qichen will leave for Moscow Sunday to attend the second round of Sino-Soviet working level talks, the Chinese Foreign Ministry announced Saturday.

The negotiations opening next Tuesday are expected to last about a month, according to diplomatic sources here.

The first round of Sino-Soviet vice-ministerial level talks were held in Beijing last October, for the first time since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979.

Chinese and Soviet officials are expected to discuss relations between the two communist countries, which have not been on friendly terms for years.

The Kampuchean question, in particular, the deployment of Vietnamese troops in the Indochina country may also be discussed in the Moscow negotiations, the diplomatic sources said.

China reportedly persuaded the Soviet Union to ask Vietnam to pull out its forces from Kampuchea at the first round of bilateral talks last October, according to Chinese authorities.

The authorities said the Chinese request for Vietnamese troop withdrawal was part of a five-point proposal for a peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean dispute, which was presented to Soviet negotiators.

CSO: 4000/79

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### SFRY PRESIDENT ON DOMESTIC, FOREIGN POLICIES

OWO21337 Beijing XINHUA in English 1233 GMT 2 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (XINHUA)--Petar Stambolic, president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia, delivered a report on the country's internal development and international position on behalf of the presidency at a joint session of both assembly chambers here this morning.

The president emphatically pointed out, "So far, all our acts have demonstrated that we are resolutely and unswervingly following the road of Tito, that is persisting in establishing socialist self-management, consolidating the fraternity, unity and equality of the people of all nationalities and enhancing the independent and non-aligned foreign policy."

Referring to the domestic situation, he said, "The struggle for stabilizing the country's economy is now, as in the past, the central task of our work." "Although the implementation of the economic stabilization programme has not gained satisfactory results by now, we believe that we have stepped on the correct road," he added.

Stambolic stressed that Yugoslavia is determined to fulfill the tasks of stabilizing the economy by relying on its own efforts.

Turning to the international situation, the president pointed out that the current international situation is extremely complicated. The rivalry between blocs has created a hot-bed for new dangers, and these blocs have constantly exerted great pressure on the non-aligned countries. He said that together with other non-aligned countries, Yugoslavia will strive for the success of the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit so that the non-aligned movement can make known its stand more explicitly and chart its future course on disarmament, hot-bed of crisis, [as received] the elimination of old and new colonialism and the struggle against imperialism, domination and hegemonism, as well as on matters of establishing a new international economic order and strengthening the role and effectiveness of the United Nations. They will also endeavour to increase the unity of the non-aligned movement and peacefully settle the disputes between non-aligned countries.

The Federal Assembly approved Stambolic's report after discussions.

CSO: 4000/79

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### YUGOSLAV LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE HOLDS PLENUM

OWO21140 Beijing XINHUA in English 1119 GMT 2 Mar 83

[Text] Belgrade, 1 Mar (XINHUA)--The course of everbroadening democratisation of Yugoslav society will continue to be pursued, said Kiro Hadzivasilev, member of the presidency of the League of Communists Central Committee, in his report to the Fifth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee yesterday.

Hadzivasilev said that democratisation implies workers' democracy of socialist self-management, that is, direct decision-making power on the basis of self-management.

The ideo-political situation in the country is basically stable and sound although the development of self-management, based on associated labour, is encountering complex problems, he said.

Stressing the accomplishments made during the almost ten-year-long period of implementation of the new constitution and the law of associated labour in Yugoslavia, Hadzivasilev pointed out that a slackening has nevertheless set in in the strengthening of workers' decision-making power.

The problems of Yugoslav society at its current stage of development are not a consequence of stagnation brought about by conservative forces, but a result of unavoidable oscillations of the revolutionary process, he stressed.

In this situation and with the existing problems, the working class of Yugoslavia is manifesting its progressive engagement, said Hadzivasilev. Workers have the necessary experience and ability to deal with problems in the spirit of self-management. That is why they now demand stricter responsibility in society and better organization of work and production upon these foundations.

Hadzivasilev pointed out that the implementation of the economic stabilisation programme--and, in this framework, improvements in supply for the population and the economy--is practical priority tasks of the LCY.

Hadzivasilev spoke of reactivation of the enemies of the Yugoslav system, warning that they are one of the factors of special warfare. Prior to this, they had been preparing also for the so-called post-Tito period, speculating with the dark forecasts concerning the future of Yugoslavia which however failed to materialize, concluded Kiro Hadzivasilev.

After Hadzivasilev's report, over 20 Central Committee members spoke at the session. They stressed the necessity of strengthening the LCY's role of guidance with a view to further promoting the development of socialist self-management and the consolidation of national unity.

In his closing speech, the president of the LCY Presidency, Mitja Ribicic, pointed out that this session demonstrated the LCY's unity which is a precondition for it to play its role of guidance on the basis of ideo-political unity.

The session adopted a resolution approving Hadzivasilev's report.

CSO: 4000/79

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

ROMANIA, BULGARIA TO EXPAND COOPERATION--Sofia, 26 Feb (XINHUA)--Romania and Bulgaria have agreed to further develop their traditional cooperation, according to press reports here. Under a new accord, reached between Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu and Bulgarian leader Todor Zhivkov during Ceausescu's visit to Bulgaria from 24 to 26 February, the two countries decided to expand the area and vary the forms of their cooperation. On international issues, the two leaders stressed the need to make all efforts to stop the United States from deploying medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. Both sides are determined to endeavor to turn Balkan into a zone free from nuclear weapons, and develop cooperation and good neighborly relations among the countries in the Balkan region. Top leaders of the two countries have reportedly held 30 talks during the past 18 years. [Text] [OW270241 Beijing XINHUA in English 0228 GMT 27 Feb 83]

CSO: 4000/79

## PARTY AND STATE

### 'JIEFANG RIBAO' DISCUSSES PROVISIONS OF NEW CONSTITUTION

#### People's Fundamental Rights, Duties

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 10 Dec 82 p 4

[Article: "Stipulations of the New Constitution to the Citizens' Fundamental Rights and Duties"]

[Text] The provisions of the new Constitution regarding the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens are an extension of the principles laid down in the "General Principles" on the country's system of the people's democratic dictatorship and the socialist social system. The term "citizen" refers to the citizen of a particular country, and according to the provisions of the new Constitution, a person who is a PRC national is a citizen of our country. In the chapter "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of Citizens," the new Constitution stipulates that our citizens enjoy a broad series of rights and at the same time it also stipulates the duties that citizens have to fulfill. These provisions fully demonstrate that the people of all nationalities throughout our country are in the position of masters of their own affairs, which is of great significance because of the reliance placed on the entire people for an effective administration and development of our country.

The new Constitution stipulates the rights of our citizens. The term "rights" refers to the powers and interests that citizens may enjoy according to law. This chapter is based on the principles of socialist democracy and of the socialist legal system as it spells out effective, clear and definite provisions for the fundamental rights of our country's citizens. The major items of these fundamental rights are: All citizens who have reached the age of 18 have the right to vote and stand for election, also the rights of freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association, procession, demonstration and freedom of religious belief. They also have the freedom of person and freedom from violation of personal dignity. They enjoy freedom from intrusion into their homes and freedom of correspondence. They have the right to criticize and make suggestions, to make complaints and charges or expose violations of the law. They have the right to work, and working people have the right to rest. They have a right to material assistance from society the right to education and the freedom to engage in scientific research, literary and artistic creations and other cultural pursuits, and women enjoy equal rights with men.

The new Constitution stipulates the duties of the citizens. The term "duty" refers to the responsibilities of the citizens toward the state and toward society. The major duties of our citizens as prescribed in the new Constitution are: The duty to work, to receive education, to practice family planning, to safeguard the unity of the country and of all its nationalities, to keep state secrets, to protect public property, to observe labor discipline and public order, and to respect social ethics. Parents have the duty to rear and educate their minor children, and children have the duty to support and assist their parents. Citizens furthermore have the duty to safeguard the security, honor and interests of our country, to defend the motherland and resist aggression. They have the duty to perform military service, to join the militia and to pay taxes in accordance with the law.

The new Constitution also lays down the principle of "equality of rights and duties." Article 33 points out: "All citizens of the PRC are equal before the law."

The new Constitution also stipulates the principle of "unity of rights and duties." The new Constitution points out: "Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law." It furthermore points out: "The exercise by citizens of the PRC of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens."

In its provisions on the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens, the new Constitution, drawing lessons from the historical experience of the "great Cultural Revolution," does not merely follow parts of the 1954 Constitution, but moves on to further developments, the major ones being the following"

1. The state places great emphasis on the rights and duties of the citizens. In all the three previous constitutions, the provisions on the fundamental rights and duties of the citizens were placed behind the chapter on "The Structure of the State." The new Constitution makes a structural adjustment and places the chapter on "The Fundamental Rights and Duties of the Citizens" right behind the General Principles and in front of the "Structure of the State." This structural change demonstrates the great importance the state attaches to the rights and duties of the citizens. Why do we say that?  
(1) It expresses exactly the relationship between state and citizen. Here the people are masters of the state, and the state is the state of the people. The state protects the people and the people defend the state. (2) It manifests the precise structuring of the Constitution. The "General Principles" of the new Constitution determine the principles of the state system, government system, economic system and of the state structure, while the "Rights and Duties of the Citizens" in the new Constitution spell out in concrete terms which fundamental rights the citizens enjoy in administering the state and how correctly to exercise these democratic rights, also, correspondingly, which duties they have to perform. In this way the basic principles are in front and the fundamental rights and duties that evolve from these basic principles follow. In proceeding from the principle to the concrete in harmonious sequence shows a smooth and systematic order.

2. The addition of new components. Drawing on the various lessons of the "great Cultural Revolution," when personal freedom was wantonly violated and when persons were subjected to indignities, the new Constitution added the provisions that "the personal dignity of citizens of the PRC is inviolable," that the personal freedom of citizens, their freedom of religious belief and their homes are inviolable, that the freedom and privacy of correspondence is to be protected by law, and also that the citizens have the right to criticize and make suggestions to any state organ or functionary, that the citizens have the right to make complaints and charges against, or exposures of, violations of law or dereliction of duty by any state organ or functionary. All these provisions are much more effective, much clearer and more definite than any provisions of the past. It can be predicted that with the state's guarantee of corresponding basic policies and measures, the rights of the citizens will certainly be realized and gradually expanded.

3. Restoration of the provision in the 1954 Constitution that "all citizens are equal before the law." Equality of all citizens before the law means that the law applies equally to every citizen; regardless of any differences in class background, social position, political history, ethnic extraction or sex; all affairs must be dealt with equally according to law. No citizen is allowed to have privileges over and above the Constitution and the law. This is one of the basic principles of the socialist legal system, however, during the "great Cultural Revolution" it had been criticized as a "bourgeois principle." It is absolutely necessary that the new Constitution restore this principle. It demonstrates that our country is a socialist state of people's democratic dictatorship and that our Constitution and law is the condensed expression of the will and the interests of the broad masses of the people.

4. Strong emphasis on the principle that the rights of the citizen cannot be separated from his duties. The rights and the duties of the citizen are mutually restrictive and mutually promote each other. Marx once said: "There are no rights without duties, and there are also no duties without rights." Ours is a state of people's democratic dictatorship. The people are the masters. The unity of the interests of the individual and the state's interests and the unity of the people's immediate interests and their long-term interests enables us to truly observe the principle of inseparable unity of rights and duties. The new Constitution prescribes: "Every citizen enjoys the rights and at the same time must perform the duties prescribed by the Constitution and the law." It also prescribes: "The exercise by citizens of the PRC of their freedoms and rights may not infringe upon the interests of the state, of society and of the collective, or upon the lawful freedoms and rights of other citizens." Practical experience has shown that only when the democratic rights and basic interests of the broad masses of the people are guaranteed and developed, can the freedoms and rights of the individual citizen be guaranteed effectively and realized fully; only when all the people observe and perform the duties of citizens prescribed in the Constitution, can everyone's enjoyment of the rights of citizens prescribed in the Constitution be guaranteed.

## State's Organization

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 22 Dec 82 p 4

[Article: "Stipulations of the New Constitution Concerning the State's Organization"]

[Text] The state's organization is the organizational structure of a country's political power. For the purpose of protecting its class interests, a country's ruling class must establish a whole organization provided with compulsory power to serve as its tool in ruling the country. Based on the provisions in the "General Principles" that "the state organs of the PRC apply the principle of democratic centralism" and drawing on our country's 33 years of experience in building up our political power, the new Constitution makes numerous important provisions in its chapter "The Structure of the State"; the major ones are the following:

1. Provisions regarding the National People's Congress. The new Constitution points out: "The National People's Congress of the PRC is the highest organ of state power. Its permanent body is the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress." "The National People's Congress and its Standing Committee exercise the legislative power of the state." This makes it clear that in the entire organizational system of the state there is no state organ that has power over and above the National People's Congress. In view of the above, the new Constitution has made concrete provisions regarding the composition, terms of office, powers of office, working procedure, etc., of the National People's Congress and its permanent body, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress.
2. Provisions regarding the president of the PRC. Practical experience since the establishment of our government has shown clearly that the establishment of a state presidency is necessary for a sound state system and is also very much consistent with the customs and desires of the people of various nationalities throughout our country. The new Constitution regulates in concrete terms the powers of office of the state president and vice president.
3. Provisions regarding the State Council. The new Constitution points out: "The State Council, that is, the central people's government of the PRC is the executive body of the highest organ of state power; it is the highest organ of state administration." The laws and resolutions passed by the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee are generally implemented by the State Council. The State Council is responsible, and reports on its work, to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee; it is therefore the executive body of the highest organ of state power. In the course of executing laws and decisions, the State Council must furthermore perform much work of an organizational and administrative nature for the unified direction of work by the administrative agencies of the state at all levels and throughout the country. The State Council is therefore the highest administrative organ of the state. The new Constitution provides appropriate regulations on the composition, powers of office and work procedure of the State Council.

4. Provisions regarding the Central Military Commission. The People's Liberation Army, founded and led by the CPC, became the country's army after the establishment of the PRC. The new Constitution stipulates: "The Central Military Commission of the PRC directs the armed forces of the country." The Central Military Commission carries out the principle of chairman responsibility. The chairman of the Central Military Commission is elected by the National People's Congress and is responsible to the National People's Congress and its Standing Committee.

Apart from these provisions, the new Constitution contains concrete regulations to strengthen the establishment of local people's congresses and people's governments at all levels and to strengthen the establishment of autonomous organs in the autonomous minority regions.

In the chapter on the structure of the state, the new Constitution, based on the principles and results of the ongoing reform of our government structure, and in further efforts at advancing these reforms, added considerable material, of which the major items are the following:

1. Extending the functions of the National People's Congress. In our country the National People's Congress carries out its functions and its work in the form of meetings. As ours is a vast country with a huge population, the number of delegates to the National People's Congress is very large, and it is difficult to conduct normal business with so large a delegation. The new Constitution therefore extended the functions of the permanent body of the National Congress, the Standing Committee, as an effective method to improve the working system of the National People's Congress. The major functions of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress, as extended by the new Constitution, are: (1) legislative powers, (2) the right to appoint and remove personnel, (3) the power to decide on the country's complete or partial mobilization and to declare martial law throughout the country or in particular provinces, autonomous regions or municipalities directly under the central government, (4) supervision of the enforcement of the Constitution, (5) direction of work in the special committees of the National People's Congress when the Congress is not in session, etc. Delegating a part of the powers of the National People's Congress to its Standing Committee in this manner enables the National People's Congress to play its role as the highest organ of state power under any circumstances whatsoever.

2. Restoration of the posts of president and vice president. During the 10 years of turmoil, the state president was divested of his powers of office, and the institution of the presidency was later abolished. The country has now returned to normalcy in all respects, so that the new Constitution restored the state presidency and made clear and definite provisions regarding the functions of the president and the vice president. The state president occupies the position of representative of the state, but is freed of administrative functions. This is a solid improvement of the state organization and brings about a reasonable division of work between various state organizations.

3. Clear and definite provisions in the position of the army in the state. As previous constitutions lacked clear provisions on the position of the army

in the state, people were easily led to believe that the army stood outside the state structure. The new Constitution now prescribes the establishment of a Central Military Commission and, therefore, includes the direction of the army in the state leadership organization. This has three advantages: (1) It facilitates utilizing the state machinery to improve army work in all its various aspects, (2) it facilitates bringing our army, in case of necessity, quickly to a state of a wartime command system, which would be an advantage in the protection of our country's security and would allow a better response to any possible armed aggression, (3) it helps strengthen solidarity between the military and the civil government and between the military and the people.

4. Separation of government administration and commune management, strengthening the grassroots political power in the rural areas. The system of merging government administration with commune management was practiced in the people's communes of the rural areas for over 20 years, and by and large the disadvantages of the system outweighed the advantages. Its main shortcoming was that it mixed up the functions and administrative methods of the political power organization with those of the economic organization. This easily led to the use of administrative methods in business management, and also to a relaxation in the necessary political work at the grassroots. The new Constitution returns to the provisions of the 1954 Constitution regarding the establishment of township, nationality township and town people's congresses and people's governments. In this way the people's communes in the rural areas are merely organizational forms of the rural collective economy. This change will benefit the establishment of better grassroots political power in the rural areas and will also benefit the development of the collective economy.

Furthermore, the provisions of the new Constitution on the "system of overall responsibility of the prime minister for the State Council," and on "the leadership personnel of the state not to hold office for more than two consecutive terms" are not to be found in the previous three constitutions. The provisions in the new Constitution on the state structure will assist in improving the administration of the state's interests by the entire people, will assist the government organs in carrying out a more effective direction and organization of the socialist reconstruction and will also be helpful in bringing about a better division of work and better cooperation of government organs and better coordination between them.

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CSO: 4005/415

## PARTY AND STATE

### CADRES URGED TO POPULARIZE, IMPLEMENT NEW CONSTITUTION

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 6 Dec 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Popularize the New Constitution, Implement the New Constitution"]

[Text] The Fifth Session of the Fifth NPC has approved the new Constitution. This is a major event in the political life of the Chinese people.

After the promulgation of the new Constitution, an important task facing us is how to guarantee its implementation so that the articles of the Constitution become the general rules to be observed strictly by all citizens in real life. There is still quite a number of citizens who do not adequately understand the importance of building the legal system, who do not have a strong sense of the legal system and who have a relatively poor self-consciousness in observing the law. To guard the authority of the Constitution, the new Constitution explicitly stipulates: "The people of all the nationalities in our country, all organs and armed forces, political parties and social organizations, organizations of enterprises and professions must treat the Constitution as the basic standard for activities and they are all responsible for guarding the sanctity of the law and guaranteeing the implementation of the Constitution." Our party leads the people in formulating the law; it also leads the people in obeying the law and must take the lead in implementing it. Everyone is equal before the law. Regardless of their ranks, all our cadres are servants of the people, with no special privileges to set themselves above the masses or supercede the Constitution and law. Since the Constitution represents the basic interests of the people, observing the Constitution is a safeguard of the people's basic interests. If party members and cadres exemplify themselves and self-consciously make themselves models in adhering to the law they will provide good examples for the masses of people.

There is this argument: acting according to the Constitution and the law may restrict one's initiative. This is an extremely erroneous viewpoint which ignores the Constitution and the law. All matters follow definite laws, or one can say, are subject to certain restrictions. This is also true for running a state. How can we let actions that disrupt the society and endanger the state go unchecked and unrestrained? Of course we cannot. This restriction is precisely the legal protection of the just rights and interests of the people, while the "freedom" of "absolute lawlessness" benefits only a minority of evildoers. The "Cultural Revolution" abolished the Constitution and the law, resulting in serious disasters. This lesson must be remembered forever. Therefore, failure to implement the fundamental law of the state for any reason is absolutely impermissible.

It is necessary to understand the law in order to observe and implement it. The immediate task is to study and popularize the new Constitution to enable all the citizens to have a good grasp of it. We must use the great classroom of society to popularly educate all the people regarding the legal system, help the citizens to increase their knowledge of democracy and the legal system and understand the difference between what is legal and what is illegal, enhance their patriotic and law-abiding mentality in order to implement the new Constitution and lay a broad foundation among the people. By studying and popularizing the new Constitution, the broad masses of people can be enabled to understand their own rights, how to exercise these rights correctly and use the law to protect their own vital interests from infringement. They must understand their duties, how to carry them out and how to use the law self-consciously to restrict themselves without damaging the interests of the state, the society and the collective and the legal freedom and rights of other citizens as they exercise their own freedom and rights; understand that the people have the right to supervise state organs and personnel. Let all the citizens act positively, loyally implement the Constitution, enthusiastically administer the state with the mentality of a master in his own house, and struggle for the gradual realization of the four modernizations and build our state into a socialist state with a high degree of civilization and democracy.

9586

CSO: 4005/424

## PARTY AND STATE

### SPECIAL REGION STATUS PROPOSED FOR TAIWAN, HONG KONG

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 11 Feb 83

[Article by Chen Tiqiang [7115 7555 1730]: "Exploration of the Special Administrative Region Issue"]

[Text] Article 31 of the "Constitution of the People's Republic of China" stipulates that "when necessary, the state should establish special administrative regions, the system instituted in special regions to be established by law in accordance with specific circumstances by the National People's Congress." The foreword to the constitution points out that "Taiwan is a part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China, and that completion of the great cause of its unification with the motherland is the sacred duty of all the people of China including Taiwan compatriots." In a statement issued on the eve of the 1981 national anniversary, Commissioner Ye Jianying said that once peaceful unification has been realized, Taiwan can become a special administrative region enjoying a high degree of self-determination. This self-determination would include no change in Taiwan's present social and economic systems, no change in the way of life, no change in its economic and cultural relations with foreign countries, etc. On 26 November 1982 at the fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress, in a report on the revised draft of the constitution of the People's Republic of China, Peng Zhen said: On the principle of maintenance of national sovereignty, unification, and territorial integrity, we are positively not vague. At the same time, We are very flexible about specific policies and measures, and will give full consideration to prevailing circumstances in the Taiwan region and the desires of the People of Taiwan as well as of personages in all walks of life. This is our basic position on the handling of this kind of issue.

These words of Ye Jianying and Peng Zhen combine principles with flexibility, and are a manifestation of particular solutions for particular problems, Marxist seeking of truth in facts, and dialectic materialism.

I have several perceptions of these formulations and statements as follows:

(1) Taiwan is a part of the sacred territory of the People's Republic of China. This is an issue that will brook no dispute, and this represents the unshakeable will of all the Chinese people including the people of Taiwan. The United States government has resorted to various methods in an effort to separate Taiwan from China, but they did not succeed and it had no choice but to acknowledge in the Shanghai communique of 1972 that "all Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits acknowledge that there is only one China, and that Taiwan is a part of China. The government of the United States does not dissent in this position." Not to dissent is to agree. Since Taiwan is Chinese territory, the issue of the relationship of this part of Chinese territory to other parts of Chinese territory is, naturally, an internal Chinese matter. Since it is an internal Chinese matter within the scope of China's sovereignty, naturally it will permit of no foreign intervention. Hawaii was an American "territory," which recently became an American state. Hawaii is American territory, and the change in its position within the country is an internal American matter that can be set forth only by America itself. Similarly, Taiwan is Chinese territory, and provisions pertaining to Taiwan also can only be decided by China, and foreign countries have no right to interfere.

(2) The arrangements a country makes about its territory including geographic divisions, subordinate relationships, the laws, political, economic, and social systems, and the policies within a region should be handled entirely in accordance with the methods that country deems most suitable. This is the embodiment of a country's sovereignty. America's change from a confederation to a federation, the Soviet Union's several changes from the unified Czarist Russian empire to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the 1946 Soviet constitution's handing over of authority other than that vested in the federal socialist republics are all internal affairs of the American and Soviet governments that foreign countries have no right to concern themselves about. On 25 October 1945, China recovered Taiwan, and on 26 October Taiwan was declared a province of China. At that time too, no foreign country raised any dissent. Right up until 5 January 1950, American Secretary of State Acheson still said that "When Taiwan was declared a province of China, no one raised any legal doubts about this."

It is thus evident that once the premise has been established that a piece of territory is a part of a country's territory, in accordance with the principle of sovereignty, that country can make whatever arrangements it likes about that territory. May

individual regions of a country adopt different methods with regard to problems? Of course, they may. Many such situations exist in every country. For example, most parts of Canada practice English common law, but Quebec Province practices continental law. In border areas, most countries permit people living along the border of neighboring countries to enter their territory to farm, to trade, and to make religious pilgrimages under different entry procedures than those that apply to other regions of the country. Some countries have established customs free zones in which the customs system differs from other regions. In all countries that have national minority autonomous regions, many systems in the national minority autonomous regions are different than elsewhere in the country. In China's Tibetan Autonomous Region, land reform was different than in other regions. In recent years China has established special economic zones in Guangdong and Fujian provinces. In those places, numerous economic systems differ from those in other regions of the country. Practice has demonstrated that such ways of doing things hold advantages for the country as a whole. Not only has China adopted such methods; many other countries have adopted them too.

Therefore, in Taiwan or elsewhere, if needed, China may decide to adopt special policies on some issues. In Taiwan, maintenance without change of the existing economic and social systems and way of life etc are particular policies adopted on particular issues, and are particular arrangements that proceed from the interests of the people of the country as a whole and the people of Taiwan.

(3) Can the methods for Taiwan that Peng Zhen mentioned in his report be applied to Hong Kong? I feel that the Hong Kong question is partly similar to the Taiwan question, and may be classed as "this type problem." Where is the "similarity?"

First, both Taiwan and Hong Kong are Chinese territory. However for separate historical reasons, they have not yet reverted to the motherland and have not united with the motherland. Both regions practice political, social and economic systems that differ from those in most regions of the motherland. These two regions must return to the motherland and become united with the motherland.

Second, since Taiwan and Hong Kong are Chinese territory, their unification with the motherland is a sovereign Chinese matter to be decided by the Chinese people that will brook no foreign interference. This is also a common point.

Third, in its policies, the Chinese government will certainly

consider historical and current circumstances, handling matters carefully and skilfully in accordance with the will of the people of the country as a whole and the will of the people of Taiwan, as for example no changes in social and economic systems and the way of life. This should also be the case with Hong Kong.

Fourth, the thirty-first article of the constitution provides for special administrative region systems, and this constitutes a reliable legal foundation for special arrangements on Taiwan and Hong Kong.

In summary, though the constitution does not directly refer to Hong Kong, inasmuch as Hong Kong and Taiwan are alike in some ways, regulations regarding Taiwan are of reference value, at least in spirit, in handling the Hong Kong question. The constitution's formulations will help eradicate the apprehensions of some residents of Taiwan and Hong Kong so that they will more actively contribute to fulfillment of the great cause of unification with the motherland.

9432

CS0:4005/635

## PARTY AND STATE

### PARTY MEMBERS, CADRES WARNED NOT TO ABUSE POWER OF OFFICE

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Guo Jidong [6753 4949 2639]: "The Power of Office and 'Petty Advantages'"]

[Text] All party members have only the duty of serving the people diligently and conscientiously; they have no right whatsoever to use the power of office to take "petty advantages" of the state and the masses. As I carefully read this passage from Comrade Hu Yaobang's report to the 12th Party Congress under a lamp and pondered over it, I remembered the following story. During the period of the Red Army, a company quartermaster of a certain regiment carried two bags all day, a bag of silver dollars and a bag of wild herbs and pancake. He often moved in and out of enemy-occupied towns to purchase provisions and munition for the company. Each day he would nibble on a pancake when he was hungry and drink some cold water when he was thirsty. He was afflicted with diseases but when he passed by hospitals and drug stores he was unwilling to spend a cent of public money to buy medicine to cure himself. Because of hardships and overworking for a prolonged period of time, he died at his post.

Although the deeds of this company quartermaster who "carried silver dollars and ate wild herbs" are not as heroic as charging through enemy lines and heavy fire or as solemn and stirring as the deaths of martyrs on execution grounds, they still shine with the brilliance of communist ideology, move one deeply and make one weep. In our party contingents today a minority of people not only take no pride to be the first to bear hardships and to be honest in performing their official duties but regard using the power of office to make personal gains and take "petty advantages" as a "skill." They use authority to make gains in whatever they are in charge of doing. Those who handle goods and materials take more goods and materials, and those who manage housing take more housing. They crave for "a waterfront pavilion that gets the moonlight first" until they are driven by money and material desires and degenerate into despicable moths. Think about those revolutionary predecessors who "regard beheading as having one's hat blown away by the wind" and who "work for the welfare of all the people" and compare with that company quartermaster who "carried silver dollars and ate wild herbs," this kind of party member should denounce themselves and should feel too ashamed to show their faces.

We communists are to serve the people wholeheartedly and cannot tolerate using the power of office to take "petty advantages" of the state and the masses. The power of office is the limits of one's authority prescribed according to one's duties. Duties belong to one's post and the limit of authority are one's responsibility. When a communist party member or party cadre receives his duties and authority bestowed by the party and people, his responsibility is contained in it. We conduct our work for the masses. At any time and with any problem, we should put the interests of the people first. The new party regulations approved by the 12th Party Congress explicitly stipulate that communist party members must "bear hardships first, enjoy pleasures last, work selflessly for the public interests, never use public office for private gain or benefit oneself at public expense." If anyone does not repent but bends on having one's own way, then the party and people will take away the authority that he has abused.

9586

CSO: 4005/425

## PARTY AND STATE

### SELF-SERVING SHORTSIGHTEDNESS SCORED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Dec 82 p 4

[Article by Li Qingmin [2612 1987 3046]: "Do Not Be Shortsighted Without Long-Range Plans"]

[Text] In his book "Reminiscences of Mr Lu Xun," Li Jiye [2612 7221 6851] quotes Lu Xun: "Marxism is the most lucid and lively philosophy. Many problems that were previously considered confusing can be understood once we see them from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint." Undoubtedly this was Lu Xun's conclusion that shines with the brilliance of truth resulting from his personal experience in revolutionary struggle and practice and from repeated observation and in-depth thinking. In his later years under the conditions of intensified suppression and serious illness, Lu Xun even vowed that "If I survive, of course I will continue to study." Revolutionary history and practice have proved that not only Lu Xun but numerous revolutionaries took the path of communism after having their consciousness enhanced through practice in revolutionary struggle and the study of Marxism-Leninism.

It is a pity that after the decade of turmoil, due to the destruction by the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing, the simple truth that we need to rely on Marxism-Leninism to guide our course has been covered with dust. When some people see that social practices have become unhealthy they believe that Marxism-Leninism is no longer "in vogue" like before. Consequently they say: "Now we have two papers, the publicly-issued red paper--Marxism-Leninism, and the white paper which has not been publicly issued--the study of relationships. We do not want to study Marxism-Leninism but we want to learn the study of relationships because Marxism-Leninism is not useful while the study of relationships can bring "immediate profit." We have entered the decade of the eighties in the 20th century, yet some people speak such nonsense and believe it to be correct rather than wrong. How wrong this is!

Frankly speaking, our present party work style and social practices are not entirely satisfactory. Consequently some people may gain certain advantages by establishing relationship with others and using backdoor influence, their so-called "material benefit" and "immediate profit." But

it is truly political shortsightedness to see only the side of lucky advantages from exploiting unhealthy trends while failing to recognize the side of the correct path of man's world and that evil cannot easily triumph over what is right. Thus goes the saying that a leaf before the eye shuts out the Taishan Mountains. History can never be reversed; filth will never become luster. After all, engaging in the study of relationships is not just and honorable behavior. Even though some people are skillful in resorting to boasting, flattery and touting, and sometimes they might make gains, nevertheless there are limits. Such unhealthy trends are not merely cast aside by the broad masses of the people, some are even not tolerated by party discipline and state law. Therefore, along with the basic improvement in party work style and social practices, the study of relationships will soon die a natural death. Evidently we should be honest persons in order to face history squarely and conform to the trend. To be on the correct path in man's world we must try hard to base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism, use communist ideology and morality as the standards of our own conduct and engage in the glorious undertaking of bringing benefit to the masses of people.

"Do not be shortsighted without long-range plans." This line of Comrade Chen Yi [7115 3015] can give us some inspiration. For the sake of the future of the state and nation, each of our comrades must never be shortsighted and seek momentary gain, care only about oneself and one's selfish interests, ignore the cause of communism, shamelessly resort to boasting, flattery and touting, and practice the study of relationships by using one's authority to take mutual advantages. Such low-down conduct is not dependable. Let us use the telescope and microscope of Marxism-Leninism to observe things so that we broaden our vision and advance toward the glorious goal of the four modernizations and the great goal of communism!

9586

CSO: 4005/425

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING CPPCC STUDIES NEW CONSTITUTION

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 26 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: "We Must Play An Exemplary Role in Studying and Implementing the Constitution"]

[Text] On 23 December, members participating in the fifth session of the Fourth Liaoning Provincial Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference began a group discussion on the new constitution of the PRC.

Zhao Fu [6392 7079], member of the committee, and (chief editor of LIAONING RIBAO), said: the new constitution is the best constitution we have ever produced since the founding of this republic. It embodies the following ten points of particular interest: First, it endorses and upholds the four basic principles; second, it denounces the erroneous "leftist" influence, providing a basis for shifting the focus of our work to concentrating efforts on enhancing the socialist modernization program; third, it contains specific stipulations on the role and status, played and enjoyed by intellectuals, regarding them as one of three forces to be relied upon; fourth, it writes into this supreme law of the land the status of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and its role as a united front work organization; fifth, it requires all political parties and organizations to recognize the constitution as the supreme authority having the effect of the highest law of the land, and as the guiding principles for their activities; sixth, it establishes the system of public ownership of the means of production as a basis for the state-owned economy to play a dominant role in our economic life, while permitting the diversified form of the economy to exist; it gives incentives to the development of the collective economy while guaranteeing protection of the rights and interests of the individual economies; seventh, it sets forth the principle of recognizing the planned economy as a matter of primary importance and the marketing management as a matter of secondary importance, thus placing our system of the planned economy in a better position to meet the needs of our economic development; eighth, it stresses the need to build our socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization simultaneously; ninth, it spells out in unequivocal and comprehensive terms the rights and obligations of citizens; tenth, it puts an end to the de facto cadre life-tenure system as part of an effort to prevent the overconcentration of power. The proclamation of the new constitution will give us increased confidence in our capacity to win new victories for the socialist modernization cause.

Ren Daoyuan [0117 6670 3293], another member of the committee, the (deputy chief engineer of the Liaoyang Chemical Fiber Plant), said: the decision to write matters concerning intellectuals into the supreme law of the land is well-timed and deemed necessary, indicating that our party fully endorses the significant role played by intellectuals during this new period in helping the entire party and the people throughout the country improve their knowledge of science, technology and productive forces. A study of the new constitution will lead us to believe that we are now having a stronger backing than ever, and the responsibility we are to assume is heavier than ever.

Other speakers at the discussion meeting were Bai Ling [4101 3781], (a performer of the Liaoning people's performing art theater), Hao Yanfang [6787 5333 5364], (member of the Shenyang ballad troupe), Xin Yanling [9515 5333 3781], (deputy leader of the Shenyang Ping Ju opera troupe), Qin Yumei [4440 0645 2734], (deputy head of the Shenyang Beijing theater), Xiao Junding [4607 0193 0080], (deputy head of the Shenyang theater). Their consensus was that the new constitution recognizing intellectuals as one of three forces to be relied can be made possible only by today's socialist society under the leadership of the CPC; in a contrast to old society where people of this profession would never feel secure when they were getting old, our theatrical performers are now state employees, respected by the people, and are entitled to retirement benefits. He Zongsheng [6320 1350 3932], another member of the committee, and (senior engineer of the Dalian Jinzhou Leather-Processing Plant), said: in the course of enforcing this constitution, there are two problems that deserve our attention. First, we need more Bo Le-type persons capable of delivering on their promises, and daring to bear the responsibility to find and recommend stallions capable of galloping 1,000 li a day. Second, intellectuals must see far into the distant future, vie to act as stallions capable of galloping 1,000 li a day, and do everything possible to quench their desire for fame and profits.

Zhang Yuming [1728 5148 2494], another member of the committee, and (professor of the Shenyang Agriculture College), said: at present, we have failed to go a step forward in achieving a better understanding of intellectuals despite the fact that our attitude toward them has undergone some changes. Some units have failed to carry out the policy on intellectuals by truly raising their wages, evaluating and upgrading their technical positions, and providing them with housing, daily necessities, and other conditions essential to their progress in study. Particularly noteworthy is the problem facing agricultural intellectuals. Of more than 10,000 students who have graduated from agriculture colleges, only one-third of them are truly dedicated to agricultural research. It seems that agricultural scientists and technicians deserve better treatment and pay than they have received. Li Suyu [2621 4790 3768], another member of the committee, and (lecturer of the Dalian Merchant Marine College, and a returned overseas Chinese), said: the new constitution is instrumental in boosting the spirit and morale of overseas Chinese, returned overseas Chinese, and their dependents. It has brought them "blessings," and will give them strength and courage. It will further encourage overseas Chinese residing abroad to take pride in serving the four modernizations program of their motherland.

Jin Yuanming [0151 0337 2494], another member of the committee, and (retired principal of the Anshan Municipal Korean Nationality Middle School, and a citizen of Korean nationality) said: this new constitution contains articles specifically dealing with minority nationalities. It is the best constitution unsurpassed by any other similar documents in Chinese history or in foreign countries, a document which fully expresses the wishes of minority nationalities. I felt very proud of being a citizen of minority nationality. In the future, I would like to publicize and defend the constitution conscientiously as a contribution to the four modernizations.

9574

CSO: 4005/422

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING HEEDS PARTY CONGRESS GUIDELINES ON REFORM, PRODUCTION

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Nov 82 p 1

[Article: "The Provincial People's Government Holds Eighth Plenary Session"]

[Text] In accordance with the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress and the Sixth (Enlarged) Plenary Session of the Fifth Liaoning Provincial Party Committee, on the afternoon of 15 November, the provincial people's government held its eighth plenary session to study and plan ten tasks it must accomplish during the coming winter and spring. The ten tasks are to study thoroughly the documents of the 12th Party Congress, to concentrate attention on the work of structure reform, to make successful efforts to promote industrial and agricultural production, to take further steps in enforcing and improving the agricultural production responsibility system, to draft the national economic plan for 1983, to make successful arrangements to meet the daily needs of urban and rural dwellers, to step up the construction of socialist spiritual civilization, to take concerted measures to strengthen social order and public security on a continuing basis, to prepare for the holding of the Sixth Liaoning Provincial People's Congress in accordance with the requirements that must be met by the provincial people's government, and to rectify the work style.

Vice Governor Wang Guangzhong [3769 0342 0022] presided over the session and emphasized: it is necessary to bring all work for this year to a successful conclusion in accordance with the guidelines of the 12th Party Congress, to sum up year-end work well, and to make an early head start for work to be accomplished in 1983. Further steps must be taken to implement and improve the agricultural responsibility system of "double contracting" the economic responsibility system of industrial, communications, capital construction, finance, and trade sectors, and the system of personal responsibility among the cadres in government organizations and enterprises. The aim is to bring into full play the initiative of scientific and technological personnel, and to do everything possible to increase the economic income and improve the efficiency of their operations. Leading comrades of various departments must continue to emancipate their minds, make further efforts in investigation and study, improve the work style, and go all out to usher in a new situation in public work.

Vice Governors Chen Beichen [7115 0554 6591], Zhu Chuan [2612 1556], Zhang Zhiyuan [1728 4249 6678], Li Gui [2621 6311] also delivered speeches on economic planning, science and technology, personnel training, and structural reform, respectively.

9574

CSO: 4005/422

PARTY AND STATE

LIAONING HOLDS STANDING COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN MEETING

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: "Liberate Thinking and Usher in a New Situation in the Work of the Provincial People's Congress"]

[Text] The standing committee of Liaoning provincial people's congress sponsored a symposium on the work of chairmen of the standing committees of municipal and county people's congress from 23 to 27 December, 1982.

The symposium exchanged experiences, affirmed the achievements of the Standing Committee of the people's congress at various levels, discovered disparities, brought forth the basic request to "liberate thinking, implement policies boldly, and usher in a new situation in the work of the people's congress."

During the period when the symposium was in process, Chen Lei [7115 7191], secretary of the Liaoning provincial party committee and provincial governor, came and spoke at the conference. Zhao Dezuan [6392 1795 1415], secretary of Liaoning provincial party committee and director of the Standing Committee of Liaoning provincial people's congress, spoke in summation. In his speech, he requested that cadres at various levels of the people's congress Standing Committee have a new understanding of the important functions of the people's congress Standing Committee, take a further step to liberate thinking, to open up avenues to forge ahead, and to overcome indecisiveness and timidity which holds people back from taking major steps. In order to effect a new change in work style, we must first of all be adept in studying the party's line, principles and policies and law, and in acquiring work-related knowledge; we must keep close connection with people's representatives and constituents, extensively popularize the trend to engage in investigative and research work, raise work efficiency, guarantee work quality and quantity, and thus enable the work of the people's congress to meet the needs of the new tasks of the new period.

Deputy-chairmen of Liaoning party congress Standing Committee Ni Wei [0242 0251], Lu Guang [7627 0342], Zhang Reiliu [1728 3843 7792], Liu Qian [0491 13586], Wang Peinien [3769 5128 3112], Sun Ziyuan [1327 1311 3293], Bo Cing [2672 7230] (female), Secretary General Zhao Zhenhua [6392 2182 5478], and heads of related departments participated in the symposium.

9519

CSO: 4005/423

## PARTY AND STATE

### LIAONING CONCLUDES 5TH SESSION OF CPPCC

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 30 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: Liaoning Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, 4th Congress, Concludes 5th Session"]

[Text] The 5th Session, which lasted eight days, of the 4th Congress of Liaoning Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference drew to a close on 29 December 1982 in Shenyang.

Zhang Ya [1728 1484], vice chairman of the Liaoning CPPCC, presided over the closing ceremony. Li Huang, secretary of the Standing Committee of the provincial party committee, attended and spoke at the conference, saying that this was the last meeting of the 4th Congress of Liaoning CPPCC, and since the first session of the 4th Congress of Liaoning CPPCC, it has earnestly implemented various party policies, and has achieved major results in mobilizing enthusiasm from various sectors and in giving impetus to various work in Liaoning. He emphasized giving full play to the role of intellectuals, extensively propagandizing the importance of intellectuals, publicly commending the meritorious deeds of advanced intellectuals, overcoming and correcting the tendency to treat knowledge and intellectuals with scorn. He said that we should learn from the glorious examples of intellectuals Jiang Zuying [5592 4591 5391] and Lo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], have more concern for middle-aged intellectuals and help them to solve their practical problems, and that we need to place large numbers of intellectuals in leading posts, enabling them to have jobs, responsibilities, authority, and to execute their duties boldly. He added that we hope that the CPPCC will do more work on intellectuals and consider such work important to the CPPCC so that we may continuously make new progress. Finally, comrade Li Huang commented that a new year will soon arrive. In the new year, in our various tasks, we should achieve new progress, a new look, new successes and contributions, so that we may add a fresh bright appearance to our great cause.

The conference passed the political resolution of the 5th session, 4th Congress of Liaoning CPPCC, the resolution relative to the performance report of the Standing Committee of the 4th Congress of Liaoning CPPCC, and the resolution relative to the status report on the examination and disposition of motions filed since the 4th Congress of Liaoning CPPCC. The conference unanimously agreed to the Standing Committee work report authored by vice-chairman Liu Mingjiu [0491 7686 0046] and expressed satisfaction with the work of the

Standing Committee during the year. The conference unanimously agreed to the written report submitted by the director of the motions examination committee Niu Pingbu [3663 1627 3184] on the status of motions filed for examination. In the opinion of conference members, during the course of examining and handling motions, the motions examination committee has worked earnestly and responsibly, and has achieved results.

The conference calls for unity, unanimity, cooperation and concerted efforts among organizations at all levels and members of the Liaoning CPPCC to engage in a common struggle to usher in a new situation in China's socialist modernization development, in the unified patriotic front, and in the work of the CPPCC.

9591

CSO: 4005/423

## PARTY AND STATE

### STUDY OF 12TH PARTY CONGRESS DOCUMENTS LAUNCHED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 25 Nov 82 p 1

[Article: "Shenyang Municipal Committee First Secretary Li Tao [2621 3447] Answers Questions from LIAONING RIBAO Reporter on Studying the 12th Party Congress Documents - A Major Discussion Throughout the City on Ushering In an Overall New Situation"]

[Text] How do we launch the in-depth study of the 12th party congress documents? Responding to a request by LIAONING RIBAO reporter, comrade Li Dao answered questions from the reporter yesterday.

Question: During the first part of the study, enthusiasm among cadres and masses was very high, and the overall situations was good. How do we proceed to go deep into the study in the next step?

Answer: In our former study section, leading teams at various levels emphasized integrating ideology with practice, rectifying leadership ideology, and deeply understanding the essence of the 12th party congress documents. The study results were good. Based on this foundation, the next step of study should stress combining ideology with work practice. Among the entire party and people, we will conduct an even more extensive, thorough-going major discussion on the ushering in of an overall new socialist situation. Through discussions, we will motivate various fronts to initiate a new situation, to be well prepared ideologically and organizationally, and to be ready to adopt measures for the various tasks of the coming year. Therefore, this major discussion will be a significant measure to implement policies and realize strategic objectives set forth by the 12th party congress, an important step and a fresh start in the effort to usher in an overall new situation; it also involves extensive mobilization of people to work toward altering Shenyang's outlook.

Question: Why is it that this discussion will constitute a fresh start for ushering in a new situation? What is the focal point of this discussion?

Answer: In the former study section, we were only conducting among the leading teams a discussion on "What will Shenyang do for its part in the whole country's efforts to quadruple production?" The discussion this time has to be expanded to include the entire party and people. The former study section was still confined to studying to usher in a new situation in the development of

material civilization, while the present major discussion has to include topics on how to usher in a new situation in spiritual civilization, the building of high-level socialist democracy and the party's development plans. In order to usher in a new situation, ideology still takes the lead in the final analysis. Therefore, this major discussion will be our fresh start for the ushering in an overall new situation; it is also a very important key determining whether or not we are able to usher in a new situation next year. We have to pay close attention to four focal points during this discussion:

In the area of developing material civilization, how do we give full play to Shenyang's superior and special features, and develop Shenyang more efficiently to enable it to become a central city with coordinated development in industry, agriculture and commerce. In the area of developing spiritual civilization, how do we develop Shenyang to make it a civilized socialist city with high educational, cultural, scientific and moral levels. In the area of democratic development, how do we develop Shenyang into a city of good order and healthy atmosphere, with a high level of socialist democracy. In the area of party constructions, how do we develop Shenyang's party organization into a unified, strong command department which has close contact with the masses.

Question: How do we make this major discussion a success?

The discussion must follow the spirit of the 12th party congress as guidance in order to stimulate enthusiasm, and look upon the ushering in of an overall new situation in socialist modernization development as the general goal. In discussing the abovementioned issues, each unit and department should summarize the actual situations of the unit to lay particular emphasis on weak areas. Party organizations at all levels must place strong emphasis on this discussion and conduct it efficiently and well, continuously summarizing experiences, following the guidance of model examples, combining discussion with practice and, in a down-to-earth manner, carry through the spirit of the 12th party congress into various work.

9519

CSO: 4005/423

## PARTY AND STATE

### EXEMPLARY DEEDS STUDIED BY SHENYANG PARTY FORUM

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 4 Dec 82 p 1

[Article: "Organization and Propaganda Departments of Shenyang Municipal Party Committee Hold Joint Forum to Study the Communist Ideology of Jiang Zhuying [5592 4639 5391] and Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133]"]

[Text] The exemplary deeds of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu have aroused strong reactions among all trades and professions in Shenyang Municipality. Yesterday the organization and propaganda departments of the Shenyang municipal party committee held a joint forum. The comrades who attended the forum unanimously felt that the revolutionary spirit, communist ideology and moral character of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu deserve to be studied by the broad masses of the people.

Vice Chairman Wang Yongxi [3769 3057 0823] of the municipal ACFTU and Deputy Secretary Li Guozhong [2621 0948 1813] of the party committee of Songling Machine Corporation said: Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu are exemplary models of intellectuals and fine representatives of the working class. We take pride in the appearance of such exemplary figures among the contingents of the working class. The 12th Party Congress Advanced the glorious goal of quadrupling the gross annual value of industrial and agricultural output. To realize this glorious goal we must rely on the progress in production techniques as well as give play to the role of engineering technical personnel. It is of immediate importance for us to overcome various biases against intellectuals and truly treat them as a part of the working class.

Deputy Director Li Zhou [2621 6650] of the municipal organization department said: The early deaths of such fine intellectuals as Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu are a major loss to our scientific undertaking. In the juncture of our grief, we have asked an important question, that is, how should we care for and trust intellectuals. Our party's organization departments have always been praised as the place for cadres and the place for party members. And now? It should also be the place for intellectuals. We should be earnestly concerned, show consideration and care for every intellectual in the same way we treat every party member and cadre. We should help them to resolve their real problems so that organization departments can become the intimate and close friends and "logistic departments" of intellectuals. Deputy Director Lin Yuan [2651 3293] of the municipal scientific commission said: In the past we made

numerous demands on intellectuals, gave them many tasks and insisted on a lot of results. Particularly with the core scientific and technical personnel, because they were able, we "whipped a fast working ox" but cared little about their learning, training and physical conditions. In the future we must further implement the policy on intellectuals, open up the door to the party and bring in even more outstanding intellectuals. We must open up the door to the leading group, select and promote even more professionally knowledgeable people to leading posts.

The comrades who attended the forum believed that in the course of studying the implementation of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and building the socialist spiritual civilization, organizing the broad masses of cadres and people to study the deeds of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu is very significant. Director Huang Zhengxun [7806 2973 8113] of the municipal propaganda department and Director Bi Kezhen [3968 0344 2823] of Dongbei Engineering College said: Not only engineers and technicians and intellectuals should study the exemplary deeds of Jiang Zhuying and Luo Jianfu but all party members, CYL members and the broad masses of cadres, workers, peasants and people should study them. At the same time we must integrate the study of Jiang Zhuying's and Luo Jianfu's exemplary deeds with the study of exemplary figures in one's prefecture and department, make the study an impetus to encourage us to go forward and contribute our strength to develop our scientific undertaking and to initiate new and overall better conditions for modern socialist construction.

9586

CSO: 4005/424

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPROVEMENT OF SHANGHAI'S ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION URGED

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 31 Dec 82 p 1

/Editorial: "Actively Forge Ahead, and Open Up New Avenues of Progress"

/Text/ The approaching year of 1983 is the first year of our country's overall development of a new situation in building of socialist modernization, the crucial year for putting the 6th Five Year Plan into effect, and also the first year of putting the new constitution into effect in struggling for the long-term public security of the nation. The 5th session of Shanghai Municipality's 7th People's Congress, through enthusiastic and conscientious discussion by the representatives, regarding the implementation of the new constitution, various important items of the work of promoting the present economy and social development and further launching mass activities relating to the "five stresses" and the "four points of beautification," separately came up with appropriate resolutions. The fifth session of the Shanghai Municipal CPPCC, taking place at the same time as the municipal people's congress, also achieved its desired results, and will conclude tomorrow. These two conferences called upon all the people of the municipality, under the guidance of the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, to actively continue forging ahead, open up avenues of progress, and vigorously launch the new situation in various tasks of Shanghai's construction work.

Further improving the economy is the basis of bringing about a great improvement in the situation as a whole, and is also the basis of doing a good job in all our work. In the new year, our national construction has made an even greater demand upon Shanghai, and Shanghai, in continuing to carry out the guiding policy of readjustment, will face some new situations and new problems. In the wake of the fundamental relaxation in the situation of articles of daily use having been in tight supply, a change from a "sellers' market" to a "buyers' market" was brought about, demanding that Shanghai's various departments of production, circulation, transportation, and service respond to this new change in the market by actively increasing the production of products that have a ready market, manufacture more excellent-quality name-brand products, improve management methods, increase and keep open channels of circulation, and develop various forms of economic combination; products produced in Shanghai not only to be able to conserve materials and resources while accomplishing top quality and a great variety of novel colors and models, but they must also possess comparatively strong adaptability and

competitiveness in domestic and foreign markets. Only in this way can we realize a comprehensive economic benefit from the development of Shanghai's production, and bring into full play Shanghai's economic and technical strength and its important effect as a seaport, so as to make further contributions to our nation.

To increase Shanghai's production in a down-to-earth manner and to emphasize its economic benefit, it will be necessary to speed up technical reform, and carry out reform vigorously. If we stand still and refuse to make progress, and stick to our old ways, then our technology and industry will be backward, our products will be old-fashioned, our management methods will be the same old thing, and even if the quantity produced and the output value both increase, it will still not be enough to satisfy the needs of the state's construction and the people's needs. Comrades in the various economic departments must definitely liberate their thinking, broaden their field of vision, and write a lot of articles about technical innovation and technical reform. We must speed up the upgrading and replacement of new industrial products, adopt and popularize new techniques and industries, look for discrepancies in our own techniques with a view to attaining advanced world levels and, one by one, arrive at measures for overtaking and surpassing them. We must stress getting a good hold on the systematic, technical reform of key industries, key products, and key enterprises, and bring on great improvements in production-technology. If we are enthusiastic about the building of modernization, we must be enthusiastic about continually improving our labor productivity. We must strive to be courageous, knowledgeable men of action who dare to accomplish things, regularly investigate and understand the direction of the needs of domestic and foreign markets and the trends in technological developments, be good at utilizing all kinds of scientific methods, carry out analysis and comparison and repeated discussion of the new problems that appear in our economic and technical work, formulate excellent plans, and once we have seen their accuracy we must resolutely set about implementing them. Through technical reform, we are continually uncovering new production potential, and are continually setting out upon new paths in the areas of product composition and the reform of the economic management organizational system.

Premier Zhao Ziyang, in his speech entitled "A Strategic Question in Promoting the Economy," pointed out with regard to our working hard toward the great aim of quadrupling the total annual industrial and agricultural output by the end of this century, that "The 'thing we must work hard for' is first of all doing all we can to further scientific and technical progress," "promoting the economy must rely upon scientific and technical progress." Once advanced science and technology is applied in the practice of production, it will become a great and dynamic productive force of society. This idea will be part of our guiding ideology in our economic construction hereafter. Shanghai has at present over 500 natural science research organizations, possessing a scientific and technical rank of 350,000 persons. Taking each and every scientific research unit and the vast army of scientific and technical personnel they contain and effectively organizing them, developing the strong points of each, having them combine their resources for the solution to key problems, and having them play a prominent role in the great task of economic construction, will certainly have a tremendous effect of furthering production and

construction. We must, through setting up centers for technical development and developing combined organizations for scientific research, planning, and production, step up the work of scientific and technical intelligence and technical consultative services, in order to enable scientific and technical personnel to turn their attention to, and promote, economic construction, and broaden their channels of communication so that, relying on scientific and technological progress, they can speed up Shanghai's economic construction and social development. What must be pointed out in particular is that at present in some departments and units there still exists the situation of people disparaging knowledge and being prejudiced against intellectuals, and this is a serious ideological obstacle impeding scientific and technical progress. We must resolutely overcome this erroneous "leftist" tendency, conscientiously get a good hold on implementing the party's policy on intellectuals, and enable all capable, ambitious scientific and technical personnel to work at what they were trained to do, and bring their expertise and their proper effect into full play.

The glorious and formidable task is spread out before us in the new year. We must, with a new aspect of positively forging ahead and opening up new avenues of progress, vigorously enable every battlefield and the work of each and every unit to have a new atmosphere, new accomplishments, and a new contribution, increasing the dazzling brilliance in our country's socialist construction tasks.

9634

CSO: 4005/457

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANGHAI CPC COMMITTEE LAUNCHES PROPAGANDA PROGRAM TO CURE SOCIAL ILLS

Shanghai WEN HUI BAO in Chinese 29 Dec 82 p 1

/Article: "Shanghai Municipal Committee's Propaganda Branch Demands; Concentrating Our Efforts on Carrying Out a '4 Pros and 4 Cons' Program of Propaganda Education"/

/Text/ During the new year Spring Festival, concentrating our efforts on carrying out activities for a "4 pros and 4 cons" program of propaganda education, promoting the transformation of social traditions, and remaking the general atmosphere of society will represent a deepgoing development of activities relating to the "five stresses and the four points of beautification," and will be an important component part of building socialist spiritual civilization. This is what was proposed at yesterday's meeting convened by the propaganda branch of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee.

This meeting was attended by responsible cadres in charge of ideological-political work from party committees at the departmental, municipal committee, agency, area, county, and bureau level, and from mass organizations; and by over 300 cadres involved in propaganda work. At the meeting, Wan Xueyuan /5502 1331 6678/, deputy secretary of the Communist Youth League municipal committee, Lin Deming /2651 1795 2494/, deputy chief of the (Shanghai) Municipal Public Security Bureau, and Huang Sha /5435 4263/, head of the propaganda branch of the Shanghai Municipal Women's Association, made speeches on the situation, problems, and methods relating to activities of the "4 pros and 4 cons" propaganda education--recommending frugality and opposing marriage on a grand scale; recommending equality between the sexes and respect and support for the aged while opposing prejudice against and mistreatment of women and the aged; recommending a belief in science and opposing feudal superstition; and recommending healthy cultural enjoyments while opposing gambling. Wu Shengling /0702 5110 5376/, deputy head of the propaganda branch of the Qingpu County Party Committee, presented their experience in taking charge of transforming social traditions and improving the general atmosphere of society. Wu Jian /0702 1696/, assistant head of the propaganda branch of the municipal committee, made an outline of the propaganda work that is expected to be done from New Year's Day to the beginning of the Spring Festival. Finally, Chen Yi, deputy secretary of the Shanghai Municipal Party Committee and head of its propaganda branch, made a speech.

The conference considered that at present in society there still exist the evil practices of grand scale celebration at marriages, interference in the freedom to marry whom one chooses, arranged marriages for sons and daughters, demanding material gifts on the pretext of marriage, prejudice against and maltreatment of the aged, favoring men over women, using superstitious practices to cheat and harm people, and people crowding together to gamble, and that in some areas these problems are quite serious. If we want to rectify these bad phenomena, it will be necessary to engage in an unrelenting struggle that is diametrically opposed to them. We must make full use of all the propaganda tools and forms of propaganda of newspapers and periodicals, television, broadcasting, and literature and the arts; broadly and deeply propagandize the "4 pros and 4 cons;" propagandize the "Constitution" and the "Marriage Law" of the People's Republic of China; form public opinion in society in a big way, speaking a clear line of reason and clearly explaining advantages and disadvantages. We must call into action and rely upon forces from all quarters to do a good job of this work. We must take care to make our policies and work methods appropriate and reasonable, and strictly avoid doing things in an oversimplified and crude way. As for the extreme minority of criminal elements who sell women and children; seduce, forcibly confine, harbor, and coerce women into prostitution; print or traffic in pornography; run gambling operations; or utilize feudal superstitions to cheat and harm people; these should, according to the circumstances of each case, be punished and dealt with in accordance with the law.

The conference called on party organizations at all levels and mass organizations to strengthen their leadership of this propaganda activity. It called on party and Youth League cadres to set examples, take the lead in accomplishing the "4 pros and 4 cons" and guide the broad masses in launching this activity in a conscientious and down-to-earth manner.

9634

CSO: 4005/457

## PARTY AND STATE

### IDEOLOGICAL RECTIFICATION, OVERCOMING LEFTIST MISTAKES URGED

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by Tian Buguang [3944 1580 0342]: "Conscientiously Do a Good Job in Bringing Order Out of Chaos in Ideology"]

[Text] In his report at the 12th Party Congress, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "We have accomplished the difficult task of setting right our guiding ideology and have achieved great victories in setting right our actual work on all fronts and thereby effected a great, historic change." This is a scientific conclusion of our party history of the past 6 years. Conscientiously studying this passage of his discourse is very important to our full understanding of the historic role of bringing order out of chaos, to the further elimination of "leftist" influence, and to the removal of the negative consequences resulting from the "Cultural Revolution" and from the "leftist" mistakes made prior to the "Cultural Revolution."

During the past 20-odd years, because of the constraints imposed by these "leftist" mistakes, we were unavoidably affected somewhat in our thinking and in our practical work and have committed in various degrees different kinds of mistakes. Take myself as an example. In all the past political movements (except the "Cultural Revolution" during which I was persecuted), I was always an activist. For instance, in the inspection work after the "Anti-Rightist" movement, the "four clean-ups" movement, and the smashing of the "gang of four," I carried out some "leftist" work and erroneously persecuted some comrades; I also made "leftist" mistakes. During the anti-rightist campaign, out of the 20 or 30 members of the provincial party committee, two were dubbed as "rightists." One was so dubbed because he had some opinion about the leaders of a certain department and was thus regarded as being anti-party; the other because he disagreed on one comrade being branded as a counter-revolutionary (this comrade really was not counterrevolutionary and his case was later rectified), and therefore designated as a rightist. Not until 1979 was he entirely vindicated. Both were treated unjustly for over 20 years. During the "Cultural Revolution," I, too, stood aside and was subjected to criticism and struggle. Being detained for 7 years, I personally experienced the harm and misery of "leftist" mistakes. Yet still, ideologically, I failed to understand and cleanse away such "leftist" influence. Consequently, when I later worked in the Provincial Foreign Trade Bureau, and in the inspection work after the smashing of the "gang of four," I once again erroneously took

10-odd comrades who had some opinion about a certain responsible person of the former provincial party committee as objects of the inspection. Why, after I personally experienced the harm of such "leftist" mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution," did I once more make such a "leftist" mistake? As I reflect back and forth, the main reason was because I failed to acquire a thorough understanding of the harm "leftist" mistakes had long brought to our revolutionary cause, so that "leftist" ideas had already taken deep and firm roots in my mind. I erroneously took the "left" as a matter of methodology whereas "right" was a matter of stand, and in our work "left" was supposed to be better and orthodox. In addition, I had continued to engage in political movements in the past, and once I encountered problems, I would habitually deal with them from the level of principle and line. Practice has made me realize that our understanding of the "leftist" question is not something that we can solve all of a sudden. We must continue to deepen our work in practice and pass through a process of advancing from an unconscious to a relatively self-conscious state. For long period, under the yoke of the "leftist" guiding ideology, especially under the historical condition of the "Cultural Revolution," it was very difficult not to make mistakes. The crux of the matter was to stand with the party and the people, look squarely at this problem and treat it correctly, consciously cleanse away the previous "left" erroneous influence, and do a good job in bringing order out of chaos in our ideology. If we merely do our calculations in small circles, it will be impossible for us to achieve this. Of course, cleansing away "leftist" ideas does not mean to trace individual responsibilities and put the blame on someone, but to really elevate our own understanding, to liberate ourselves in a true sense from the constraint of the "left," to consciously bring order out of chaos, to truly place our own thinking and stand on the foundation of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, and to maintain consistency with the party Central Committee politically.

At present, in guiding ideology, our party has already accomplished the tough task of bringing order out of chaos, and also achieved important victories in practical work. However, this is not to say that our mission to bring order out of chaos ends here. Our party has indeed accomplished the task in guiding ideology, but this is not to say that each individual has accomplished such in his concrete thinking, or that this task has been accomplished in all places, all departments, all units, and all concrete projects. Therefore, seriously studying the 12th Party Congress documents, continuously eliminating "leftist" ideas, and earnestly doing a good job in our work of setting things right ideologically is still very necessary. In his report at the 12th Party Congress Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out: "Because the remnant poison of the decade of domestic turmoil has not yet been eliminated, and there has been some increase in the corrosive inroads of exploiting-class ideologies under new conditions, there in fact exist within our party impurities in ideology, workstyle and organization. Our party workstyle still has not scored a fundamental turn for the better. Severe flabbiness and laxity exist in the leadership work of some party organizations. A very small number of remnants of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques still stealthily occupy certain leading positions and are waiting for a chance to make trouble." These matters discussed by Comrade Hu Yaobang are enough to

indicate that, in the thinking of some places, departments and units and some comrades, the task of returning to order from disorder is still rather great and formidable. For instance, some comrades have failed even today to cast off their "leftist" influence. They still observe problems and understand problems with the stand, viewpoint and methods of the "Cultural Revolution," believing "in the past we criticized you because of some past reasons, today we have your case rectified because of our current policy." They simply refuse to acknowledge that they have created unjust, false and erroneous cases of litigation. As to the handling of the questionable "three kinds of people," some units fail to carry out earnest inspection and allow them to remain at their leading posts. Those who made mistakes refuse to inspect themselves, refuse to admit their mistakes, while their leaders still fail to carry out criticism to help them. There are still other comrades who cannot distinguish right from wrong ideologically and who do not dare to adhere to the party principles. They failed to struggle against erroneous ideas and behavior. On certain major questions of principle, they expressed no opinion toward people who talked nonsense. They also failed to criticize and to struggle against them. In other units, the party's democratic life remains abnormal. Organizational meetings on everyday life were seldom held, criticism and self-criticism were not carried out. Existing problems cannot be brought to the conference table. Decisions on major issues are not made by collective research but by the words of a few or by the individual leaders. All the above-mentioned problems indicate that in our practical work we have to further eliminate the negative effect caused by the 10 years of internal disturbance, and that we have to earnestly do a good job in setting things right in the sphere of ideology, and to revive the glorious traditions and fine workstyle sabotaged by Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their band of counterrevolutionary elements.

Doing a good job in returning to order from disorder ideologically cannot be achieved by studying documents once or twice or by holding one or two meetings. We need to do a great deal of ideological and political work. In the past, our province has failed to convey and implement well the spirit of the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee and the No 1 and 2 central documents of 1981. In view of this lesson, we, in studying the 12th Party Congress documents, must understand well their spirit and essence, correlate the realities of our thinking and our work, sum up experiences and lessons, and break through the constraint of the "left." And, with the spirit of rectification, we must solve the problem of individuals and leading cadres being unable to adapt to the need to bring about a new situation in our socialist modernization. We must unify our thinking and activity in accordance with the spirit of the 12th Party Congress, and work hard to implement various tasks put forward by the 12th Party Congress.

9255

CSO: 4005/399

## PARTY AND STATE

### CONFUSION OF EGALITARIAN IDEAS FOR COMMUNISM SCORED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 12 Dec 82 p 4

[Commentary by Feng Yingzi [7458 5391 1311]: "How Can Fish Eyes Be Confused for Pearls?"]

[Text] While studying the 12th party congress documents, some persons read the following story which was published in a newspaper: In a certain factory, a technician came up with an invention, and the upper-level department gave him a monetary award. But he received only one-tenth of a yuan. It turned out that the factory head distributed the award evenly among all the workers in the factory, with the result that each person got only one-tenth of a yuan. After the event, the factory head said: "Intellectuals cannot become too prominent. Could he have developed that invention without the support of all the workers in the factory?"

The person who quoted this story was putting emphasis on criticizing the attitude of the factory head towards intellectuals; this is of course correct. For a few years now, although intellectuals no longer wear the hat of "stinking old nines", newspapers repeatedly promote the role of intellectuals in socialist construction, and the Party Central issued repeated injunctions that its policy on intellectuals must be implemented, but there is still much resistance and many difficulties when a concrete work agenda is raised. In certain basic level units, the thinking that "intellectuals cannot become too prominent" is not unusual. This is because some persons still espouse the disguised theory that "the greater the knowledge the greater the reaction." It is only natural therefore that there exist viewpoints such as intellectuals "cannot become too prominent." Some persons say that for several years now circumstances like those concerning the question of issuing monetary awards are not that unusual. This award of one-tenth of a yuan is simply typical. There are also persons who say that the implementation of the policy on intellectuals only exists in the newspapers. Although what they say is not pushed to the extreme, they are just promoting rumors which are without foundation.

Nonetheless, I believe that the most important thing in the approach of this factory head was in raising a theoretical question for us: How do we understand communist ideology?

From the viewpoint of Marxism, monetary awards are linked to state interests, enterprise interests, and individual interests. They are beneficial in encouraging a positive environment and indispensable in promoting production and construction. Lenin has said that in the transition from capitalism to communism, "it is not satisfactory not to have money awards." Of course it is only by giving money awards to advanced producers and those who invent and create that the function of "encouraging a positive environment" can be achieved. But to "equally share" money awards is a form of egalitarian thinking which has absolutely nothing in common with communism. In theory, egalitarianism has historically been an economic concept during rebellions. In the Wang Xiaobo [3769 1420 3134] uprising during the Northern Sung, Wang put forward the idea that "I detest the inequality of poverty and wealth; today I will even it out for you." In the Yang Ma [2799 8010] uprising of the Southern Sung, Yang urged the idea that "I will institute laws to make the high and the low equal and for all to share poverty and wealth." The ideals of Li Zicheng [2621 5261 2052] at the end of the Ming, "Meet the king head on, do not pay grain," and of the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom at the end of the Ching, "if there is land we will mutually till it, if there is food we will mutually eat it, if there is clothing we will mutually wear it, if there is money we will mutually spend it" are products of egalitarianism. During the 18th century, the ideals of the "Equality Group" established by Ba-bei-fu [1572 6296 1133], of peasant origin, in France and those of his "Republic of Equality" are also products of this kind of egalitarianism. Of course, in the long river of history, egalitarianism has a certain progressive significance in a feudal society in which "behind the vermilion gates meat and wine go to waste while out on the road lie the bones of those frozen to death." This cannot be denied. Nevertheless, in the final analysis it developed on the foundation of small producers and the small peasant economy.

The problem appears to lie in the fact that history rushes forward, while some persons stand where they've always stood without moving, being satisfied with small production, taking a lack of culture to be glorious, and living in the illusion that poor peasants and farm workers can fight to win state power and then rule the country. Even more important is the fact that the Third Plenum loudly informed them that these concepts were wrong; but some persons nonetheless claimed that the concept of retreating from socialist large scale production to a natural economy is communist doctrine. Is it not a reflection of this kind of thinking to divide a 500 yuan award so that everyone gets one-tenth of a yuan, and to consider egalitarianism as socialism?

Of the four things which we uphold, one is called Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. And Marxist doctrine developed originally in criticizing every kind of non-Marxist doctrine; the work "Anti-Duhring" is a model of Marxism. From this incident of the one-tenth of a yuan of award, I believe that if we are to strengthen the propagation of communist ideology, the important thing is to differentiate between what is communism and what is not communism. We must not allow the false communism in our midst to be taken for the genuine thing; we must not allow right and wrong to be confused.

6722

CSO: 4005/416

## PARTY AND STATE

### HEBEI HOLDS ROTATIONAL TRAINING FOR PARTY MEMBERS

Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 11 Jan 83 p 1

/Article by Zhao Fengde /6392 7685 1793/: "Hebei Province Begins Rotational and General Training of Party Members"

/Text/ At present, our province has begun a full-scale rotational training of party members with the new constitution of the party as its central theme. Incomplete statistics show that by the end of 1982, under training were some 79,808 basic level party branch members who were enrolled into 283 training classes opened by party schools in various counties. Meanwhile, conscientious efforts have been made by various localities to carry out a general training of party members. In the countryside, the units sponsoring the concentrated or multi-phase general training are communes while in cities, the units sponsoring the rotational training of party members in groups or by stages are factories and mining enterprises. So far, the province has completed the training of some 1,017,544 party members or 40 percent of the total.

Party committees at all levels have attached great importance to this rotational and general training of party members, and have regarded it as a matter of vital significance to be promoted. During the training, party cadres in various leadership positions have acted as models in training, and vanguards in educating themselves. Instead of concentrating attention on training grassroots party members rather than party cadres, as has been the case in the past, they have shifted the focus of training to party members of leading organs or those in leadership positions. From beginning to end, various localities have carried out the training in a spirit of rectifying the work style. This training is marked by the conscientious form of criticism and self-criticism and by combining study with rectification, a training which calls on party members and cadres to live up to the strict demands imposed by the new constitution of the party, and to pay attention to their ideological realism and actual working conditions simultaneously. This form of rotational and general training is instrumental in solving the following three problems: First, it represents a step forward in eliminating the "leftist" ideological influence and in raising the awareness of the need to implement the party's line, principles and policies among the students. By adopting the methods of "study, lecture, mutual assistance, and investigation," Baoding Prefecture has organized party members to study thoroughly the documents of the 12th Party Congress, and articles of

the new constitution of the party dealing with the correct implementation of the party's principles and policies in conjunction with reality, thus enabling party members and cadres to raise their awareness of the need to implement the party's line, principles and policies.

Second, it proves effective in helping students increase their understanding of communism and firmly uphold their communist faith. During general training, party organizations at all levels have concentrated efforts on carrying out the communist ideological education as the central theme of this training, and have conscientiously studied the new constitution of the party. On that basis, they have made clear the points on relationships between the communist movement and the communist social system, between the current policies and the communist ideological education, between communist ideals and current specific work, and between the communist cause and individual interests, while calling on party members to foster the idea of serving the people wholeheartedly, and to uphold their faith which will lead them to dedicate their whole lives to the struggle for communism. During the general training, the Xingtai municipal flour mill party branch has organized party members to restudy the oath they took at the time of their admission to the party, and to start a discussion of such topics as "whether communist factors can grow around us," "how to foster the communist ideals," and "how to make contributions to the realization of communism at our present posts," thus giving them a profound communist ideological education. As a result of study and discussion, they have heightened their revolutionary spirit while leading the masses to do everything in a big way in defiance of hardships. The result was an increase of 32.9 percent in flour output in last October over the level of September.

Third, it is instrumental in helping students strengthen their sense of party character, and try to become a qualified party member and cadre in every possible way. During the rotational training of party members, the Shijiazhuang Municipal Party Committee, using the new constitution of the party as a mirror, and Dian Yilan /3944 4135 5695/ as an example, has held a forum on the special subject of "how to be a qualified party member" thus providing an opportunity for some party members to denounce the theory that "one has nothing to gain from being the advanced and party members," and to overcome their selfish desire for "money and profits." In this way, they have raised their sense of party character and awareness of the need to make themselves a qualified party member. Originally, Suning County had eight party branch secretaries, who once absolved themselves from assuming any duties. After undergoing this universal training, they are eager to share the responsibility again, impelling 45 other party branch secretaries to take initial steps to rectify their unhealthy work style.

9574

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## PARTY AND STATE

### STARTING POINTS FOR USHERING IN NEW SITUATION OUTLINED

Harbin FENDOU[STRUGGLE] in Chinese No 1, 10 Jan 83 p 2-3

[Article by Chen Junsheng [7115 0193 3932] in publication sponsored by CPC Heilongjiang Provincial Committee: "First Steps in Ushering in the New Situation"]

[Text] The year 1983 marks the overall start of the new situation of constructing socialist modernization as suggested by the 12th Congress of the Communist Party of China. In the new year we must continue to closely study the documents of the 12th Party Congress, study the spirit of the 5th Session of the 5th National People's Congress and study the new constitution in order to arm our minds and guide our work in striving to initiate a new situation in the construction of socialist modernization. Therefore, leadership cadres and staff and workers on all levels along with the peasants must become closely involved with this new subject of initiating a new situation. Their thoughts must advance in focusing on this new issue and their actions must continue to be closely involved with this issue. The success or failure of future work hangs in the balance on this one item.

In the new year, each department and unit, each party member, cadre, staff member and worker and each peasant, especially the leadership cadres, must all give serious thought to where we should begin in initiating the new situation. This is an urgent problem which is now facing us. In the new year we must thoroughly implement the spirit of the 12th Party Congress and this will require a great deal of work. We cannot become mired in the usual phrases and propaganda nor can we accomplish all things at once, but must instead realistically pursue several major endeavors. For example, we must now work hard at organizational reform, which is the first step in a series of reforms of major significance. These reforms carry out the spirit of the 12th Party Congress so they cannot be delayed at all, and the sooner they become operational the greater the benefits. The issue of how to make progress in perfecting the responsibility system of linking planned production to contractual arrangements is one of general concern to the broad peasants and cadres throughout the province. Whether

we are able to firmly, precisely and correctly handle this issue depends on whether or not agriculture throughout the province can make progress in further developing the new situation now under way. This should be completed at about the time of the Spring Festival in order to concentrate our forces in making thoroughgoing preparations for production next year. Work in industrial consolidation must be continued and good use must be made of the experiences gained from the first set of trial efforts, and it is especially important to widely publicize the experiences gained from the economic responsibility system of the Shoudu Iron and Steel Company. This is an effective way to reap economic benefits in industry. On the battlefield of commerce there must be progress in opening new paths of communication to improve the transportation of materials and goods between the city and countryside in promoting progress in agricultural and industrial production. This requires a great deal of work, and there especially must be step-by-step progress in our reform efforts. In the coming new year we must promote progress in building socialist culture and in this regard science, technology and education should be placed in especially prominent positions. Good party consolidation work must be carried out. There must be party consolidation and consolidation in other work areas in order to energetically bring about a turn for the better in party style, social mood and social stability. This work must be performed energetically, carefully and effectively. The actual responsibility for each field and each industry differ and the area of penetration for initiating the new situation also differs. The only commonly shared items are those three listed below. We must work hard at each of them.

1. There must be a good spiritual situation. At present, in terms of the entire party, the line, direction, policy, tasks and actions are all clear and unequivocal, and the remaining problems depend upon the efforts of each of us. In terms of the whole nation and the whole province, our current situation is that of work competition, with you in pursuit while I try to catch up, all in a flurry of activity. If our spiritual condition continues on in the same old fashion along the same old path, complacent and conservative, we will then be unable to keep up with the pace of developing changes and will be unable to create the new situation. The quadrupling of the total annual production value of agriculture and industry within 20 years as suggested by the 12th Party Congress and the "three basic turns for the better" within 5 years are tasks entrusted to us by our times. Comrade Mao Zedong said that people must always be spirited. The documents of the 12th Party Congress provide our spiritual strength and are the fundamental guarantee of the proper completion of all of our tasks. With the stimulation and motivation provided by the spirit of the 12th Party Congress we must manifest a new spiritual appearance, have a sense of being pressed for time, have a spirit of working hard for national prosperity and competitive progress and dare to take great strides forward and rouse even greater vigor in order to energetically strive to usher in the new situation.

2. There must be a great change of work style. This has two points of interest: one is that it is imperative that we overcome sluggish, argumentative and ineffective bureaucratism and the other is that we must oppose all improper behavior in using power for personal gain. These two points are key issues in bringing about changes in the work style and in achieving a turn for the better in party style and social behavior. Each and every comrade must seriously give consideration to whatever problems must be personally resolved. If each comrade can "start with himself" in 1983 in resolving one or two genuine problems we then will be able to manifest an entirely new situation in party work style. If we merely talk about the bad aspects of the party style and do not make genuine efforts to resolve some actual problems, then not only will the problems remain unresolved, the result will be slackness and the collapse of morale. We feverently hope that in the new year each comrade, especially the leadership cadres, will put forth realistic efforts in changing the work style.

3. There must be a scientific work method. A key point of the so-called scientific work method, so far as the leading comrades are concerned, is to become deeply involved in research and investigation. Comrade Mao Zedong said, "Without investigation there is no authority to make pronouncements," and unless the investigation is accurate there also is no authority to make pronouncements. Investigation and research not only are a question of methodology, they also are a matter of ideological line and a question of party character. In ushering in the new situation we must sincerely perform good work in research and investigation. Otherwise, there can be no new situation. At present there are some comrades who frequently are unable to grasp the essentials of their work or often make mistakes. There are many reasons for this, but all are related to insufficient research or incorrect research or investigation. For example, there now are some comrades whose thought is not adequately liberated, primarily because of a lack of research or because of improper research. Practice proves that whoever has carried out the greatest quantity of the most accurate research has the most liberated thought. Research and investigation are one of the superior traditions of our party. In the current effort to usher in the new situation we must raise research and investigation to a high ideological level, a high level of party principles and place them in the forefront of our work. In the new year, our comrades on all levels, especially the leadership cadres, must seriously consider how they can personally take actions to make progress in opening up research and investigation. We can say that whoever carries out the most and the best research will make the most contribution in ushering in the new situation.

In summation, during the new year, no matter which battlefield, prefecture, unit or cadre, all must have a new atmosphere, accomplishments and contributions and all must add new brilliance to our great efforts. Let us all strive together!

## PARTY AND STATE

### PROMPT HANDLING OF PROBLEMS STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 29 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by Hua Min [5478 3046]: "We Cannot 'Wait Until the Time for Party Consolidation'"]

[Text] Several days ago a comrade and I discussed the circumstances of a party member and cadre in his unit who uses the power of office to engage in dishonest practices. The more he talked the more indignant he became and he almost fell off his chair. But finally he said: "I will not provoke him now. Wait until the time for party consolidation." This was truly an unexpected ending.

To be indignant and resentful of those who undermine party work style gives hope to party consolidation and is undoubtedly a good thing. But it is wrong to "wait until the time for party consolidation." When we discover that a party member and cadre is behaving improperly and we do not promptly help him understand and correct it but allow his evil nature to develop for half a year, in the end will we not be entrapping him? If he is now causing a great deal of harm, will we not be letting the party down by not cooperating with the party organization to promptly control and deal with him but permitting him to continue to hurt the party's image? Putting the question this way does not contradict party consolidation. The 12th Party Congress proposed to begin consolidating the party in the second half of 1983, which means that from the next half of the year we will begin to carry out centralized and overall consolidation of party work style and the party organization in order to bring about a basic improvement of party work style with 5 years. It will not work if we do not carry out "centralized and overall" consolidation, and it also will not work if we merely rely on this step. In other words, we must also consolidate at ordinary times. In fact, through different methods the party has always upheld truth, corrected mistakes, and at all times rescued those who are lost, helped those who have lagged behind and remove the evildoers. This is also the basis of party consolidation. Therefore, a person who is of one heart and mind with the party and who supports party consolidation cannot "wait until the time for party consolidation" when he finds problems now.

No one can be totally ignorant of such reasoning, but why would some people want to "wait until the time for party consolidation"? Undoubtedly one few

individual cases are motivated by personal vengeance in which party consolidation is regarded as an opportunity to consolidate people. Most people worry that even if they raise the problem now they cannot be resolved and that they might "get foul smell all over themselves instead of catching the fox." At least they lack a little of the spirit to struggle and of course they have also overlooked the party's mainstream and underestimated the purity and combat strength of party organization at various levels. However, this should also compel us to think of another side of the matter: At all times (including of course the half year period before party consolidation), party organizations at all levels should earnestly and promptly deal with the problems concerning party members and cadres as expressed by the masses. This is also a problem that cannot "wait until the time for party consolidation."

9586

CSO: 4005/425

## PARTY AND STATE

### BENEFITS OF LAW TO PEOPLE DISCUSSED

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Dec 82 p 4

[Commentary by Zhang Shengyuan [1728 3932 0337]: "Law Is of Great Benefit to the People"]

[Text] The fourth constitution since the establishment of the People's Republic of China has been passed by the Fifth session of the Fifth National People's Congress and put into effect. Twenty-eight years in all have gone by since the publishing of the first constitution in 1954 to the birth of the fourth constitution in 1982. During this period the years have rushed by, and great changes in human affairs have taken place; but the foundation of socialism has not been shaken. The Third Plenum of the 11th Party Central Committee has again raised a fresh red banner, and, as a result, the state machinery of the people has recovered its vitality, and socialist democracy and the legal system are becoming increasingly more complete. If Li Dachao [2621 2192 6856] were again among the living, he would be able to write a triumph of the common people of the decade of the 80's in the 20th century.

Some persons are talking on the bus: "The constitution has been published, but is 'law' or 'authority' the major component in it?" Some persons shake their heads: there certainly is no fear here about discussing national affairs. This is because we do not have those two inquiries described in "Tea House", who might pull out their handcuffs at any time. With the defeat of the "gang of four", the elimination of "leftist" errors, the free airing of views has been encouraged, and the principle of there being no crime in speaking out is being implemented. There is not much doubt about this any longer. This being the case, why are those persons shaking their heads? This is because, in present-day society, there is no lack of talking nonsense, and no matter how comprehensive the law, it will be of no avail when it comes to persons who pay no heed to the discipline of law. In my opinion, there is also in actuality an element of agreement within this shaking of the head. If there basically was no law, how could there be any probing of whether the law is big or small. Again, if law and authority were things of no benefit to the people, how could there be any interest in selecting what is big and what is small?

In rashly raising the question of whether the law or the authority is the bigger, there are also some things that cannot be resolved. We cannot categorically promote law and curb authority; nor can we categorically promote authority and

repress law. For a constitution as good as this one to be deliberated and formulated by the National People's Congress, which has the highest authority for making laws, is to combine the perfection of the people's authority with the people's system of law.

For a number of years now, the spirit of the people has been heading towards democracy, looking forward to enlightened politics. In similar fashion, the people are awaiting a society with a rule of law which benefits the citizens. This society with a rule of law is not on the other side of the ocean, nor is it in the distant past. What does the violence of the Ku Klux Klan and the employer who moves to become a government official after causing the death of his slaves by maltreatment have to do with rule by law? In our socialist society, where laws are created for the benefit of the people, where laws are executed and upheld for the benefit of the people, the upper levels can execute with effectiveness at the lower levels. Thus the environment on this side is without doubt uniquely good.

6722

CSO: 4005/416

## PARTY AND STATE

### IMPORTANCE OF LEADERSHIP SUPPORTERS STRESSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 8 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by He Peide [0149 1014 1795]: "'Support Persons Are Still Needed'"]

[Text] It is heartening that numerous "sensible persons" have been selected to join the leadership body. But will it work with merely one or two of them? I do not think so, for "sensible persons" still need supporters. We might as well call these supporters "support persons."

Most of the "sensible persons" selected to join the leadership group are capable people who have courage and insight, boldness and determination, have ability and are good at creating new prospects. But if the back is strong, why do we still need others to "support" it? Generally speaking, the "sensible persons" who have just been selected to join the leading group are relatively younger in age, have relatively weaker qualifications and records of service, and their original responsibilities may be lower. All this often makes certain people around want to find out if "sensible persons" are indeed "sensible"? How do they make the first three kicks? Can they kick off a new situation? Among those who are watching, some are suspicious, some deliberately watch for funny mistakes, some are jealous and intend to make things difficult, and some even want to covertly "cripple the horse." Therefore their authority can only be gradually realized in the course of creating new prospects. With the courage and insight, boldness and determination, and ability of only one or two "sensible persons," new prospects cannot be created. As the old saying goes, "a brave man has the help of three other people." "Sensible persons" must have the support of others. Only with this support can they become successful.

If so, what kind of people should "support persons" be? Of course they should also be "sensible persons." This is because people who are insensible will not think of supporting "sensible persons," and even if they do they would not know how to give support. Only sensible persons themselves can consciously and enthusiastically support "sensible persons." However, what "support persons" are "sensible" about has different demands from those of "sensible persons." "Support persons" are sensible mainly in employing cadres and conducting policies, but they may not be as good as "sensible persons" in management and administration. On the other hand, they are not

entirely insensible or even wilfully insensible because party workers who are "entirely insensible" and "wilfully insensible" cannot properly use cadres and conduct policies. In any case, "support persons" must self-consciously support the line, policies and principles adopted since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. They are devoted to the cause of socialist modernization and construction, have the quality of respecting talents and learning modestly, and are determined to try hard for "sensible persons."

In "A Record of Plant Director Qiao in Assuming Office," Plant director Qiao Guangpo [0829 0342 2613] was a "sensible person." When he had to go to the electric machinery plant to request orders he asked the higher authorities to let his old partner Shi Gan [4258 2413] accompany him. "He is the party committee secretary and I am the plant director." Based on his past experience, Qiao Guangpo obviously felt that Shi Gan was his best "support person." When Shi Gan declined on the excuse that "I have only half a tongue," Qiao Guangpo said: "No, you have two tongues. One of them can direct me in key moments and can often give me the help no one else can; the other can convince the masses to follow me." In other words, "support persons" have this charm: giving "sensible persons" the confidence and courage to go forward in key moments; giving "sensible persons" the centripetal force and condensing force that mobilize the masses; and giving "sensible persons" the wisdom and strength that triumph over difficulties. One can say that "support" is an "art." What Qiao Guangpo told Shi Gan--if you would only "move your fingers" or "give me an eye expression" and "just take your position"--fully makes the point. Such "finger movement" and "eye expressions" are not different from the eye expressions and gestures of artists on stage, whose "artistic appeal" cannot be easily described by words.

The more superb an art is, the more difficult it is to master. This is the same for "support art." Yet in terms of the present conditions, the problem is not "achievement" but how to give better play to "support persons" like Shi Gan, who has mastered this art. Of course, due to the development of socialist modernization and construction, "support art" must have correspondingly new substance for new creations and development. On the great stage of the four modernizations, leaders who play "supportive" roles must profoundly understand their own duties. In their unending study and practice they should further enhance the level of "support art," contribute their own strength to play this famous drama of "ushering in an overall new situation for socialist modernization and construction."

9586

CS0: 4005/425

## PARTY AND STATE

### SHANGHAI COLLEGE STUDENTS URGED TO STUDY IDEOLOGICAL-POLITICAL WORK

Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 9 Nov 82 p 1

[Article: "Study the Pattern of College Students' Ideological-Political Work"]

[Text] What are the characteristics of the ideology of today's college students? How can good ideological and political work be done with these students? The Shanghai Teachers College recently called an academic conference on students' ideological and political work, which undertook an initial exploration of the above questions.

At the end of the last semester the party committee of the Teachers College required that political work cadres and instructors at all levels, beginning with investigation and research, sum up experience, attempt to discover work patterns, and raise ideological and political work to a new level. At the same time, with regard to the College's 1,173 students in the 1980 and 1981 classes, they investigated their viewpoint on love, reading habits, family influence, thinking on special field of study, and so forth. They prepared a fairly good academic thesis, 19 chapters long.

The large volume of materials and analyses presented at the academic conference clearly showed that the political character and tendencies of today's students are fundamentally healthy and improving, but that they are not politically mature. There is a positive side to their goals in life and their striving for ideals, but many students lack far-reaching ideals; they pay careful attention to material benefits and advocate oneself. They all possess the basic ability for ethical evaluation, but lack systematic ethical cultivation; their ethical level is generally rather low. Many students' thinking on their specialized field of study is not firm. This segment of college students were born in the period of national difficulties, grew up during the period of turmoil, and reached maturity during the period of transition. Their thinking is lively and they have probing minds, but their way of looking at problems is shallow; they lack the ability to discriminate, taking in everything without making distinctions. They have a strong thirst for knowledge, broad interests, and hope to become useful persons; but their motivation is not uniform. They put a fair amount of emphasis on reality and have resistance against "leftist" things, but the boundaries are not clear to them. They frequently view correct things as errors and reject them. They are very malleable.

Based on the above analysis, the comrades who participated in the academic conference unanimously held that we must, in accordance with the spirit of the 12th party congress, place the ideological and political work of the students in the foremost position of the schools' work by following the guiding ideology for running schools.

6722

CSO: 4005/416

PARTY AND STATE

UNIVERSITY WITH SELF-STUDY PROGRAMS OPENS FOR PLA CADRES

Beijing BEIJING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Jan 83 p 2

/Article by Wang Jianxun /3769 1696 8113/, Ji Yaocheng /4764 3069 2052/ and Zhang Xuguang /1723 2485 0342/: "Organs of Beijing PLA Units Open On the Job Self-Study University for Cadres"/

/Text/ On the morning of 22 January, the organs of Beijing PLA units stationed in Beijing ceremoniously opened an on the job self-study university for cadres. Already registered with the university are more than 1,900 students who will be organized to take courses and tests under the basic courses examination program for party and government cadres, sponsored by the self-study examination commission of the Beijing municipal department of higher education.

Qin Jiwei /4440 1015 0251/, commander of Beijing PLA units, and Fu Chongbi /0265 1504 4310/, political commissar of Beijing PLA units, attended the ceremony marking the opening of the university. In his speech, Qin Jiwei emphasized that how to make vigorous efforts to bring this scientific and cultural self-study program for cadres to a successful conclusion is a challenge of our time, and crucial to the work of promoting the overall structural reform and improving the instructional program for our troops. He encouraged students to study diligently and effectively, while calling on PLA leadership at various levels to create in every possible way conditions favorable for study.

Also invited to the ceremony were Guan Shixiong /7070 0013 7160/, vice chairman of the self-study examination commission of the Beijing municipal department of higher education, who spoke of the significance and prospect of the self-study examination program at the level of higher education, and a representative of students who have scored remarkable success in self-study examinations sponsored by the Beijing municipal department of higher education. In his speech, he conveyed to the meeting his experiences in studying on his own.

This self-study university has been established by the party committee of the Beijing PLA units in accordance with the principle of close coordination between the training that requires cadres to take leave of their posts and the training for cadres remaining in posts.

Deputy Political Commissar Yang Baibing /2799 4101 0393/, and Xu Zhifen /6079 1807 1164/, deputy director of the political department of the Beijing PLA units, have been named president and vice president of the university respectively.

9574

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## PARTY AND STATE

### NEED FOR ACCURATE MATERIAL ON PARTY HISTORY EMPHASIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 7 Feb 83 p 3

/Article by XINHUA correspondent Zou Aiguo /6760 1947 0948/: "Write Accurate Material Into the History of the Party--A Report on the National Work Conference on Compiling Historical Material on the Party"/

/Text/ Construction of a towering building calls for laying a firm foundation. Likewise, a successful effort to produce an authentic version of the history of the Communist Party of China calls for gathering comprehensive and accurate historical material on the party. The second national work conference on compiling historical material on the party, held recently in Tianjin, emphasized that stress must be laid on accuracy and authenticity in historical material on the party to be compiled, which will provide the key to success in this work.

The first task of this conference was to transmit and study conscientiously speeches by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang. At the conference, Feng Wenbin /7458 2429 1755/, chairman of the Central Commission on Compilation of Historical Material on the Party, called on comrades present to use the essence of speeches by Comrades Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang as a guiding ideology for replacing old conventions with new ideas which will lead us to fulfill this work effectively, and produce positive results in this respect.

"How successful we will be in compiling historical material on the party depends on how much accurate material we can gather, and how many problems in question we can straighten out." This was the consensus of the delegates to the conference. Comrades maintained that the history of our party is very rich in content, but a serious gap exists in it due to our inability to retrieve some of the missing material on the party, stating that it is very important to do everything possible to gather information on major events in the history of the party, and to verify it for accuracy; worry about difference in views and disputes over certain events is not warranted as long as we have verifiable facts which will lead us to achieve unity in view and opinions.

During the conference, central and local level comrades in charge of party history compilation work introduced some of their experiences that have proved effective in this compilation work. Since 1981, in accordance with the

instructions of leading comrades on the Central Committee, the Central Commission on Compilation of Historical Material on the Party has conducted a special investigation into a series of major events in question. With the assistance of the units concerned with this work, it has gathered a large amount of material through interviews with related persons and the holding of forums. Following a process of classification, scrutiny, and verification, it has basically gained a clear picture of the background of certain events in question, and their origins and development, thus practically laying to rest those controversies in question, which have long bothered the party history compilers. Comrades called this form of special investigation an excellent method for successfully gathering accurate historical material on the party.

By adopting this special investigative method, various localities have also gained a clear view of a series of major issues, important events, important conferences, and key figures in the history of the party. For example, they have gathered a rich variety of more accurate information on two attacks mounted by the Red Army against Changsha, Hunan, in 1930, and circumstances surrounding the death of Wang Zuo and Yuan Wencai in Jiangxi, the mutiny of the 19th Route Army in Fujian, the eastward movement of the Red Army from Shanxi, and the struggle in the Third Prison of Tianjin.

A leading comrade on the Central Committee called this form of special investigation an excellent method for compiling historical material on the party. Although memoirs written by individuals are essential, they are unlikely to cover the entire history of the party, and are in some cases not completely accurate. A more accurate and more comprehensive view of certain events in question can be made possible only by applying this method of special investigation.

During the discussion, comrades from Hebei said: a forum on the history of the party in Jizhong Subdistrict bordering Shanxi, Chahar, and Hebei, recently held in Beijing was highly successful. Upon learning that this forum was concerned with the recollection of the history of the party, some old comrades immediately came to the meeting despite their poor health and old age. Among them were Cheng Zihua /4453 1311 5478/, Yang Chengwu /2799 2052 2978/, Lu Zhengcao /0712 2973 2347/, Yang Shijie /2799 1102 2638/, Luo Yuchuan /5012 3768 1556/, and other old comrades, who spent 2 days talking enthusiastically about the party's past, at the meeting. At the forum, these old comrades helped one another conscientiously recall events that occurred in Jizhong Subdistrict, thus providing first-hand information on the building of the party, army, and government, and the development of the armed struggles, the united front and relations between the army and people for that area. Making available this solid, reliable information means laying an excellent groundwork for compiling the history of the party in Jizhong Subdistrict.

Aware of the fact that a large number of old comrades are now retiring to the second line of duty or taking leave of office, delegates to the conference from various parts of the country proposed that various local departments in charge of party history compilation take full advantage of this favorable

condition to encourage old comrades to play a key role in this respect, and to organize them into attending forums so that information can be verified and scrutinized. They said that at a time when old comrades, especially those who are well aware of the party's early activities, are growing older and fewer with each passing day, everyone must now grasp every crucial moment to request them to provide important verified information, and to dig out those "living information" on the history of the party still buried deep in their hearts. This is an important task that warrants no delay. At the conference, delegates also went about the task of organizing plans for coordination between provinces and units in a way that takes into account their respective needs.

9574

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## PARTY AND STATE

### TWO KINDS OF WINDS DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 83 p 1

[Commentary: "Talk About 'Winds'"]

[Text] Sometime ago this newspaper made a relatively concentrated effort to popularize the system of job responsibility with fixed farm output quotas for each household. Some kindhearted readers anxiously said to us: "We worry that you are once more stirring up a wind."

This worry is not without cause. In the past, under the influence of "leftist" ideology, newspapers had indeed stirred up a lot of "winds"--the "wind of boasting and exaggeration," the "wind of equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources," the "communist wind" and even the "wind of criticizing small-scale production" and the "wind of severing the tail of capitalism"--which in effect strengthened the erroneous trend of thought at that time and brought grave danger to the national economy and the people's livelihood. People have suffered enough from "stirring up winds." They now guard against it and try to prevent it, which we must say is a good phenomenon. However, it is very necessary for us to make a concrete analysis on whether the present popularization of fixed farm output quotas for each household is related to the "stirring up of winds."

If we say that "stirring up winds" is an imagery to create public opinion, then one can say that the newspapers are "stirring winds" every day. The question is what kind of winds are being stirred up. Just winds, refreshing winds and gentle winds, or evil winds, unhealthy winds and storm winds? Are they winds that benefit the people or do harm to them? The difference essentially lies in where a wind comes from and how it is stirred, that is, whether it is in accord with the objective reality and whether it is the wish of the broad masses of people. The "wind of boosting and exaggeration," the "wind of equalitarianism and indiscriminate transfer of resources" and the "communist wind" were stirred up at the subjective desires of individual leaders at the time. They were subjective products divorced from reality and the masses. Therefore, as soon as they were stirred up, they did not win the support of the people. The authorities made it clear and logical, but complaints were heard everywhere among the people. The broad masses of people adopted all kinds of ways to resist them so that even when the wind blew harder it could not last long. The circumstances of fixed farm output quotas for each household are

entirely different. It is the glorious creation summed up by the broad masses of people on the basis of the experience and lessons of organizing cooperatives. No matter how it has been censured and criticized by certain people since it first appeared, it is still continually advancing and developing under tortuous conditions. Some departments have attempted to stop its development but they all "have consolidated at every step and kept on retreating," and finally they could not but recognize, permit and advocate it. The course of its development and changes proves that the staunch vitality of fixed farm output quotas for each household has come from a solid support of the people. If one also regards this as a "wind," then it was neither stirred up by the subjective desire of a leading comrade nor fanned by a hotheaded propaganda department. It arose along with the development of the objective situation and the needs of the broad masses of peasants. One should say that our newspaper merely gave accurate reports of the actual situation and it has not reported enough.

Since what we stirred up is a good wind, a favorable wind and a wind of reform that has won the firm support of the people, we need not abstain from using the word "wind" or even become afraid at the news of the "wind." "The boat sways and drifts slowly and clothes flutter in the wind." The great wheel of modern socialist construction is advancing against the waves, and our propaganda work must follow closely and make it go smoothly. Of course, in our work we must learn from past lessons, maintain a sober mind and persevere in seeking truth from facts. But there is one thing we must firmly believe without a doubt, that is, that as soon as what we express is truly the wish of the broad masses of people, it will be able to stand the test of history and will never become "a gust of wind."

9586

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## PARTY AND STATE

### VALUE OF INDEPENDENT THINKING DISCUSSED

Shenyang LIAONING RIBAO in Chinese 12 Jan 83 p 3

[Article by Liu Guangping [0491 1684 1629]: "One Cannot Give Up the Right To Think"]

[Text] This incident occurred in the Imperial College at the time of Emperor Ai in the Han Dynasty. On one occasion, a college student's essay was read by the instructor of the classics who did not make a single correction of it but wrote this comment: "In ancient times people made their essays splendid with the seven apertures in the human head. You have succeeded with six apertures." When the students saw that the instructor made such an evaluation they all used the essay as a model for their writing. Some people did not simply make private copies of it but went as far as to memorize whole passages. Only a student by the name of Dong Xuan [5516 1357] did not give in. He read the essay carefully several times and felt that it was unclear in its views and confused in its thinking. He also conscientiously pondered over the comment made by the instructor of the classics, and burst out laughing as he said: "The instructor of the classics said that this person has not succeeded with one of his apertures." It was only then that the students awoke from their dream, yet this incident has become a joke through the ages.

What distinguishes man from animals is the brain that exists independently on his shoulders. According to the system of responsibility of the five organs, the special function of the brain is thinking. Mencius said: "The organ of the mind is for thinking." Comrade Mao Zedong believed that Mencius had correctly defined the function of the brain. Thinking produces wisdom and makes one less likely to be fooled. In the diverse and confused world what appears mysterious to those who do not think deeply makes abundantly clear sense to those who do. If those students of the Imperial College had given a little thought to the true meaning of the "enigmatic language," that funny mistake would not have been made.

Everyone can think deeply, but some people might not have the ability to think independently and proceed from the objective reality to reach the correct conclusion. In real life there is no simple matter of guessing the "enigmatic language," but the meaning of independent thinking is revealed only in the intermingling of truth and falsehood, right and wrong. Truth is real, concrete

and distinct, but when an erroneous trend of thought appears some people submissively give up their right to think and go along with the tide. In a broader sense, for instance, after more than a century of practicing socialism as a rudimentary stage of communism, one after another, many places on earth have realized it. Some people have struggle for this for a number of years, but under the "vagueness" of the trend of thought their faith has been shaken and they talk about "vagueness" without giving it more thought. In another example, since the Third Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee, policies and guiding principles that suit our national conditions have been carried out by the party in accord with the wishes of the people and have achieved obvious results. Some people also follow the path of the charge that "policies have become rightist" and thoughtlessly echo this. In everyday life there are also numerous examples of people who "sway with the wind." In any case, by thinking what others think, saying what others say and doing what others do, one gladly gives up the right to think independently. Precisely for this reason, Marxists pay a great deal of attention to this problem and repeatedly advocate that people think independently and stress keeping one's brain to oneself. Comrade Mao Zedong once said: "Communist party members must ask why to all matters, and think carefully with their own brains if something is in accord with reality and truly reasonable. They absolutely must not follow blindly or advocate slavishness."

Of course, this kind of deep thinking is in no way a self-evaluation by mediocre persons but is the logical judgment and action which result from overall observation and analysis of problems which have proceeded from reality and are guided by Marxist dialectic materialism. Our party and state are now in a new period of initiating new and overall conditions for modern socialist construction. We urgently demand that every party member, cadre and citizen use the spirit of independent thinking of dialectic materialism to strengthen their faith in communism, arouse their revolutionary spirit, study new conditions, accept new things, resolve new problems and strive to be a promising people who initiate conditions for the new situation. At this time and in this situation, each of us should value our right to think independently.

9586

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## PARTY AND STATE

### WAYS TO STRENGTHEN CONFIDENCE IN COMMUNISM DESCRIBED

Harbin XUE LILUN [THEORETICAL STUDY] in Chinese No 1, 1 Jan 83 pp 43-44

[Article by Wang Chengfu [3769 2052 4395]: "How to Strengthen Our Confidence in Communism?"]

[Text] The fundamental spirit of comrade Hu Yaobang's report at the 12th party congress was that of holding aloft the banner of communism, and struggling for the comprehensive ushering in of a new situation in socialist modernization. Before studying this important report we must first of all conscientiously strengthen our confidence in communism, for that is the fundamental premise of doing a good job in studying the report and struggling to realize the various tasks proposed.

How can we strengthen our confidence in communism?

First of all, we must conscientiously study the fundamental theories of scientific socialism, get a clear idea of what communism, determined by Marxism, is, and establish our faith upon an understanding of the laws operating in the development of society. The communism we are talking about is a scientific ideological system that was established by Marx and Engels on the basis of the materialistic view of history and the theory of surplus value. It foresaw that socialism (the first stage of communism) must necessarily replace capitalism.

Communism is a kind of social movement. After Marx and Engels established the theory of communism, they used this scientific ideological system to direct the workers' movement, thus forming the communist movement. This movement results from the combination of the Marxist theory of communism with the workers' movement, and is therefore the result of the great practice of communism.

Communism is a kind of social system. This social system was foreseen by Marx and Engels on the basis of the laws of the development of society, and it will be realized through the communist movement. If we want to attain this excellent, long-range goal, we must pass through many intermediate stages. At each and every stage, the movement is directed by communist ideology, and practice also promotes the development of communist ideology, gradually perfecting our understanding of this social system.

To sum up, communism is a social system that will be realized through a long period of the practice of the communist movement, which will take place under the direction of the ideological system of communism, as defined by Marxism. Having this complete understanding, we can get a clear idea of the fact that this enterprise of socialism that we are now engaged in is a struggle for the sake of realizing communism; and a movement having the theories of scientific socialism to guide it can definitely attain the great, long-term goal of a communist society. And only a confidence that is founded upon an understanding of the laws of the development of society is resolute and unwavering.

The reason why some people raise all kinds of doubts about whether we will be able to realize communism is that they simply do not understand what scientific communism is. As for those people, we should ask them to first "investigate" before "making statements." Investigate what? First, read the books of Marx, Engels, and Comrade Mao Zedong, and come to understand what communism is; second, study history, and see how the resolute warriors of communism obtained their own firm confidence through an understanding of communism's basic theories; third, study the actual, present situation, and see, if for example some young people have, through ignorance, expressed some doubts about communism, and how they change after reading Marxist books, and how their confidence in communism is established. Through this kind of investigation, these people will change their erroneous ways of looking at things.

In order to strengthen our confidence in communism, we must have an overall understanding of the history of the communist movement. A hundred years ago there were Marx and Engels, just the two of them, and the movement led by them on the basis of the scientific theory of communism within a short time became an important social force in Europe. Lenin, on the basis of the scientific theory of communism, led the Russian workers' class to establish the first socialist state. In our own country, the Chinese Communist Party, which at first consisted of only a few dozen people, through a long period of struggle, has already led all the people of our country onto the broad path of socialist modernization. History is the best book of lessons. From the more than 100-year history of the world communist movement, and from the more than 60-year history of the GPC, it is not difficult to discern that communism is science, that the flourishing development of the communist movement is a necessary development of history, and that the realization of communism is a necessary tendency of historical development. The reason why some people say that socialism is not as good as capitalism is not only due to the fact that they do not understand the scientific theories of socialism, but also due to the fact that they do not understand the history of capitalism, and do not understand the history of how the communist movement struggled victoriously against capitalism. In the view of these people, society has always been pretty much the same throughout the ages, and there has not actually been any great transformation in society. For this reason, the study and understanding of history is extremely important for these people.

In order to strengthen our confidence in communism it is necessary to study those who struggled resolutely for the cause of communism. The teachers and leaders of the proletarian revolution are classical examples of those who struggled to the end of their lives for the cause of communism. We will cite a few instances here:

In 1865, Marx's daughter asked him what his special characteristic was. Marx replied: "My goal, at the beginning and at the end, is the same."

"Engels contributed his entire life to an extremely lofty aim--the liberation of the proletariat. He also had 'ideals,' but his ideals never departed from reality. His ideals are also reality, but they are tomorrow's reality, a reality that will happen in the future." (As quoted by Plekhanov)

Lenin, when difficulties were encountered during the initial period of building the Soviet socialist economy, said: "If we look at the problems in their essence, then in history has there ever been a newly-formed style of production that was established all at once without passing through a great many failures, mistakes, and defects?"

Comrade Mao Zedong, when the Chinese Revolution was at its low ebb, pointed out that: "A single spark can start a prairie fire."

Comrade Zhou Enlai, during his work-study period in France, seriously declared: "The philosophy I believe in is definitely unchangeable."

After the defeat of the Nanchang Rebellion, Comrade Zhu De said: "After the defeat of the Russian Revolution of 1905, the 'fragments' left over became the core of the October Revolution; those who wish to continue the revolution, come with me!"

Comrade Chen Yi has said, in particular, that: "Under circumstances where victory is developing, it is easy to be a hero; under circumstances of defeat, or decline, being a hero is much more difficult;" "only heroes who have passed through the experience of defeat are real heroes."

We could cite a great many more examples, for giving an account of the words and actions of the teachers and leaders of the revolution would be the same as recounting the greater part of the history of the international communist movement and of the CPC.

In order to strengthen our confidence in communism, it is also necessary to look upon the present political and economic situation correctly. We are engaged in the cause of communism under definite, concrete conditions and, moreover, those conditions are continually changing. When great difficulties, serious setbacks, and disadvantageous times are encountered, whether or not we have a resolute faith in communism will be an important test for us. The correct method for looking upon the situation is that of dialectical materialism. The most important things to be aware of are the essential nature of things, the mainstream, the situation as a whole, and the way things are developing. In the course of actual life, people

tend to look at problems on the basis of their own experience, and so their views are often limited. This, then, demands that we break through these individual and partial limits and look at problems from the point of view of the situation as a whole, for only then will we be free of the defect of judging the entire situation from a biased viewpoint. Our cause is developing and, comparing the present with the past, and seeing the immense progress that has already been made, it is not hard for us to understand the necessary tendency of future developments, and not be swayed by temporary, disadvantageous conditions.

In order to strengthen our confidence in communism it is also necessary, in the course of our practice, to conscientiously temper and test ourselves. It is not only necessary to have a theoretical understanding of the inevitability of the victory of communism, but also, in our practice and activities of struggling for the cause of communism, to temper our resolve, and eliminate difficulties. At present, we must, in the course of our great struggle to realize the great goals proposed for us by the 12th party congress, make our own contribution. Each success we achieve will further increase our own confidence in struggling for the cause of communism. This confidence, like that of comrades Jiang Zhuying [5592 4591 5391] and Luo Jianfu [5012 0256 1133], will be firm and real. To sum up, we can only strengthen our confidence in communism if we strengthen our understanding of communism by combining theory with practice.

9634

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## PARTY AND STATE

### RESPONSIBILITY OF EACH GENERATION OF COMMUNISTS DISCUSSED

Nanjing XINHUA RIBAO in Chinese 5 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by You Gan[1429 2413] in the column "Essay on Communist Ideology": "Each Generation has its Responsibility"]

[Text] During March of this year, members of the Communist Youth League of Beijing University labored for 5 days to remove the remains of the martyrs killed on 18 March 1926 by the Duan Qirui warlord government and place them beside the Tomb of the Martyrs in the Yanyuan garden in Beijing. The area was rebuilt and given the name "Tomb of the March 18th Martyrs." The students recited a memorial inscription titled "March 18th" written by the former Beijing University professor Huang Shichang: "The blood of the martyrs together with Beijing University shall rise anew...those who die hereafter will take up this noble duty, vowing to bear this grudge and taste revenge." This very movingly expresses the idea that Beijing University has no worries about a lack of successors, that each succeeding generation will have its responsibilities. The youth of today have their responsibility to "Alert the nation and make sacrifices to demonstrate sincerity."

Obviously, each generation does have its responsibility. This responsibility cannot be subjectively decided upon by some hero, but is a demand made by the conditions of social developments. Different conditions will result in different responsibilities.

When our great homeland was under the yoke of semi-colonialism the people were the slaves of imperialism, they were exploited by feudalism and oppressed by bureaucrat-capitalism. They were daily beset by problems and difficulties, and at that time the responsibility of that generation was how to unite to overthrow imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary dictatorship of bureaucrat-capitalism and so liberate the entire nation. Without this, it would be futile to have mentioned national independence, unity of the people, democratic government, a flourishing economy and improvement of the people's livelihood. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries in China paid a great price to fathom truth of national salvation. At the end of 1920, Comrade Zhou

Enlai arrived in Paris to seek the truth through hard work and diligent study. He lived in a small hotel at No. 17 (Gedefeiluwa) Street in the Italian Plaza in the 30th Arrondissement of the southern section of Paris. In a small second story room of only 5 square meters, Comrade Zhou Enlai applied himself to the study of Marxism-Leninism and wrote the cogent, glorious works "Zhonghua Jueqi--The Rise of China" and "Gongchan Huakai--The Flowering of Communism." He organized his comrades studying in Europe to actively participate in revolutionary activities and he resolutely struggled against the French reactionary authorities and such oppressors as Wu Zhihui in China. Comrade Zhou Enlai engaged in study and practice, and in writing about the ideological transformation that took place during his year of study in France he said, "It was not until after I arrived in Europe that I began to investigate and compare all the various ideologies." "I now have arrived at a firm conviction." "In short, we have already just about reached consistency on the ideological issues. There now is one thing to emphasize and that is, 'We must have faith in communist principles and in the two great principles of class revolution and proletarian dictatorship, and we must take actions which are suited to the conditions of the times.'" The Chinese people engaged in 80 years of bloody struggle to arrive at the truths that only communism can save China and liberation is possible only under the leadership of the communist party! The Chinese people understand these truths, the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries such as Li Dazhao, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De gave their lifeblood for them!

Recognizing the truth does not automatically mean the victory of the revolution and the implementation of truth requires the heroic struggle of countless proletarian revolutionaries. Our older generation of proletarian revolutionaries strongly believed that the unification of Marxism-Leninism with the practices of the Chinese revolution would inevitably overthrow imperialism, feudalism and the reactionary dictatorship of bureaucrat-capitalism in China, and so they were indomitable and unbending, advanced wave upon wave and left behind many glorious writings. After being captured by the enemy the martyr Fang Shimin remained unmoved by seductive inducements and remained staunch before vile torture. The enemy could restrain his movements with fetters but could not confine his faith in the inevitable victory of our communist endeavors. When sentenced to death he wrote to a comrade saying, "If I could remain alive, then each day of my life would be used to cry out to the nation. If I cannot live but must die then the spot where I died or my tomb will perhaps put forth a flower, and you can view the flower as the embodiment of my spirit. If that flower should nod in the wind that will be my homage to the patriotic soldiers of the revolutionary struggle to liberate the Chinese people. If that flower shakes from side to side that will show my spirited singing of revolutionary songs encouraging the soldiers to advance!" Because of the high caliber

of optimistic communist warriors such as these, we were able to overcome great difficulties and suffering and follow the extremely twisted and confusing trails to win the complete liberation of all people and build a socialist China. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries did not disappoint the hope of the people that they would complete this great and glorious task in an outstanding fashion.

As members of the communist party, our ultimate goal is to implement a communist social system and seek the liberation of all mankind. A task of this sort cannot be completed in one generation but is a task which requires the efforts of many generations under the leadership of communist ideology. The older generation of proletarian revolutionaries led us to the final victory of the people's revolution and put us on the path of socialism. This is the first step towards communism and the lengthy road of the future must be steadfastly followed by generation after generation of people. In "The Task of the Communist Youth League," Lenin said, "It is very clear that the generation of workers trained under capitalism can only destroy the former lifestyle which was built on the foundation of capitalist exploitation. At the very most, they can only build this very same type of social structure, which can help the proletariat and workers to protect their political authority and solidify their foundation. As for building progress from this foundation, that depends entirely upon the new situation, which is that a generation of people undertake the task of joining in the work in a situation wherein there no longer is mutual exploitation between people." Our international conditions are exactly the same. Many of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries are already deceased, and the healthy ones are already quite old. The task now before us is to build our country into a modernized, highly civilized and highly democratic powerful socialist nation. Moreover, from this foundation we must move step-by-step toward a communist society. This great and glorious historical task must now fall upon the shoulders of the broad Chinese youth and pass from generation to generation. The line "Alert the nation and make sacrifices to demonstrate sincerity" recited by the Beijing University students represents the aspirations of the young generation of our country. This is the basic nature of the broad youth of our nation and bright hope and future of our country. We must firmly believe that under the nurturing of the Communist Party of China the young generation of our country cannot possibly forget this heavy responsibility which they have undertaken. They definitely will continue to uphold and develop the glorious tradition of the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries. That is an unshakeable truth which repeated setbacks cannot reverse. Marshal Ye Jianying's speech before the 12th Party Congress filled the youth of our nation with hope when he used a line from the Tang dynasty poet Li Shangyin, "The fledgling phoenix calls more clearly than the older phoenix" in affirming that those to follow

will be superior. Expressing his complete faith, he said, "We believe that our comrades need only strive to arm themselves with communist ideology, the party's historical experiences and modern scientific understanding and furthermore join with the masses, work hard, wisely use subordinates and readily accept good advice in order to be assured of performing outstanding leadership work and make glorious contributions in the process of building modernization."

Although our young and middle-aged people have been affected by the 10 years of chaos, however, they are all striving in their own sentry posts to create a new situation in order to strengthen the socialist homeland.

The Huanghe is the cradle of the Chinese nation and also has brought untold hardships to the Chinese people. In this new historical period of socialist construction how are we to make this river serve the great task of building modernization? It can be used only if it is understood. Yang Liankang [2799 5114 1660] made personal sacrifices for the socialist construction of the homeland and vowed to trek alone from the source to the mouth of the Huanghe in carrying out a first-hand reconnaissance. In all of history there never was such a journey. In the Yuan dynasty the commissioner of the Huanghe Du Shi only traveled to the area of Xingshehai at the convergence of the Kari and Yueguzongli bends in the upper reaches of the Huanghe. In the Qing dynasty, Laxi reached only the Yueguzongli bends. In 1979, an expedition made an investigation and determined that the Kari bends are the true source of the Huanghe. The origin lies only about 200 meters from the Changjiang river system in the foothills of the Gezige mountains. On 19 July 1981, Yang Liankang went to Qumarleb county in Qinghai province and began his investigation at the headwaters of the Huanghe. He carried a backpack and a walking stick, following the difficult trail by day and sleeping on the riverbank by night. After 317 days, he had walked 11,000 li, and on 31 May 1982 arrived at the mouth of the Huanghe. In this investigation he received the help of the masses along the route in gathering abundant first-hand information and has achieved definite results in this study of the history of the development of the Huanghe. He is now preparing to organize his materials to present them to his colleagues in geography and to seek the advice of the older generation.

After the worldwide oil crisis exploded in the 1970's, innumerable scientists throughout the world have marshalled their forces to exploit the cheapest energy source--solar power. In China, how can we make this cheapest energy source available to the broad peasants in the countryside? This is a pressing task. Early this May, there was a meeting in Knoxville, Tennessee of the World Energy Exhibition organized by 20-some nations. The Chinese pavilion had a new product which captured the attention of many people. They remarked over a solar stove of Chinese manufacture which

weighed only 30 jin and which folded up umbrella-style to place in a carrying case. The surface of the parabolic mirror of this stove is fashioned of plastic film. Plastic film previously was only used for weather-resistant structures and this is the first time it has been used for the concave surface of a parabolic mirror. This solar stove was built by 34-year old Xu Songshun [1776 6139 5203], a resident of Wuxi who in 1964 went to Yancheng prefecture in northern Jiangsu to reside at the Xinyang test station. After much hard work he produced a design for the stove and then spent altogether 720 days and nights in bitter struggle and then on New Year's day of 1979, he produced a 3,500 word article titled "Fuqi Bomudi Xingshi he Jiegou--The Form and Structure of Weather Resistant Plastic Film." When he presented this work in Shanghai, white haired, old scientists became rather happy for this youngster who had smashed the restrictions on concave weather resistant plastic film structures. After the success of this article, he again went to Haian county to test solar stoves and after 180 days and nights of effort he finally produced a new type of solar stove.

In this generation which has shouldered the responsibility of modernizing the homeland, people such as Yang Liankang and Xu Songshun are emerging in great numbers on all battlefronts. Under the leadership of the communist party they are fully exercising the superiorities of the socialist system and certainly will emulate the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries in refusing to cast aside the responsibility they have assumed. They certainly will be outstanding in building our county into a modernized, highly civilized and highly democratic powerful socialist nation! Correctly understanding modern youth and concern for their healthy upbringing are important to our national future and the older generation still has an important obligation.

11582  
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SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

'GUANGMING RIBAO' ON LU XUN'S VIEW OF PATRIOTISM

HK090953 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 23 Feb 83 p 3

[Article by Li Hongran [2621 7703 3544]: "Lu Xun on Patriotic Historical Figures"]

[Text] Abstract: Lu Xun paid special attention to the evaluation of patriotic historical figures; he combined this evaluation with educating the people in patriotism so as to arouse their patriotic sentiments. His evaluation has a highly revolutionary character; it is scientific and achieves the unified purpose of praising and opposing narrow patriotism. [end abstract]

Lu Xun, the great revolutionary, thinker and writer, was at the same time a great patriot and an "unprecedented national hero" ("Collected Works of Mao Zedong" vol 2, p 658). Because of the needs of the revolutionary cause at the time, he paid special attention to the evaluation of patriotic historical figures and also to linking together this evaluation with educating the people on patriotism, thereby arousing their patriotic feelings and encouraging them to engage in the struggle for national liberation and China's development.

"Patriotism represents the deepest kind of feeling, built through the years, toward one's own motherland" ("Complete Works of Lenin," vol 28, pp 168-169). Our country has a long history. The people have always entertained extremely deep and warm feelings toward the motherland. Their patriotism has been traditionally strong and abiding. It is a gigantic spiritual force rooted in the historical soil of the Chinese race and provides the power for promoting the historical development of the Chinese race. This gigantic force comes from the masses of people of China's various nationalities and has been eminently displayed in the persons of numerous patriotic historical figures. Lu Xun pointed out: "Since time immemorial, we have had among us people who would 'bury their heads in hard labor, or who dared to risk their lives and defy danger and difficulties, or who would be willing to plead for the common people, or who would sacrifice themselves for the sake of law enforcement....' Even the governmental historical records which were tantamount to the family records of emperors, kings, generals and prime ministers could not dim the luster of these eminent personages who, in reality, constituted China's backbone elements" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun" vol 6, p 118). Throughout China's several thousand years' history, a large number of outstanding revolutionaries, statesmen, military strategists, thinkers, scientists, scholars and artists have made their appearance. These people, along with those patriots who were

always concerned with the welfare of the country and of the people and the national heroes who fought against the enemy and protected the country's honor, have on various sides demonstrated our national spirit and served as the spiritual pillar of the Chinese race. Truly, they may be called "China's backbone elements."

Under varying historical conditions, patriotism was displayed in various ways. Among our historical patriots, there were some who were loyal to the motherland and who warmly loved the people; there were those who firmly insisted on reform and endeavored to promote social progress; there were those who had made certain scientific and cultural contributions and promoted the country's advancement in material civilization and spiritual civilization; and there were those who resisted foreign invasion and protected the integrity and honor of the country and people. All these patriots have won the praise and acknowledgement of Lu Xun.

The name of the personage Qu Yuan is a pride to our people. In all such phases as ideology and feelings, morals and virtues, Qu Yuan demonstrated the traditional spirit of the Chinese race. Sima Qian was not excessive in his appraisal of Qu Yuan as being an "Upright, righteous, extremely loyal and vastly sagacious person whose integrity matched the luster of the sun and moon." Lu Xun had a strong admiration for Qu Yuan. In his thought and writings, he clearly showed the influences Qu Yuan had on him. Qu Yuan's poem in which he lamented "the dark and long road ahead but reiterated his determination to find 'through heaven and earth' his avowed objective" and his other similar literary expressions were freely borrowed by Lu Xun to denote his desire to find a true road to national salvation, both to spur himself on and to serve as a call to the readers. Moreover, he quoted at length Sima Qian's eulogies of Qu Yuan to refute the slanderous attacks on Qu Yuan that had been in circulation for a thousand years and more. He believed that love for one's country and for one's people must be as tenacious as "a poisonous serpent and a grudging demon" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 3, p 40). Thus, he showed extreme admiration for Qu Yuan's patriotic feelings of "deep concern for his ancestral land," his determination "to rather die than go away" and his magnanimity and lofty bearing of "daring to die nine times ungrudgingly."

Lu Xun also accorded his approval of Wang Anshi whom Lenin described as China's reformist of the 11th century. He said: "In the Song dynasty, the scholars were all stereotyped. They talked about idealism and respect to Confucius. Although there were a few reformers among whom were Wang Anshi and others who attempted to introduce new statutes and new methods, yet, because they did not have the people's support, they failed in their efforts and everybody reverted to the old ways which had no bearing on the social structure. This was carried on until the downfall of the Song dynasty" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun" vol 7, p 309). Being courageous enough to insist on reforms is the special characteristic of patriotic personages. Only in insisting on reforms and breaking old traditions and customs and creating something new can a nation survive and prosper. [HK090955] Conversely, if a country opposes reform and chooses to stick to old ways, then its development will become stagnant and it may even perish. Old historians have concluded that Wang Anshi's reforms had brought about the destruction of the Song dynasty. This,

however, was not in conformity with facts. The destruction of the Song dynasty was not due to Wang Anshi's reform. Rather, it was because those who succeeded him were opposed to the reform and reverted to the old ways which had no bearing on the social order. Although Wang's reform was a failure, yet to advocate reform under conditions when people were restrained by the old ways demonstrated the great wisdom and courage of a patriotic statesman. Lu Xun was indeed very penetrating and thorough in his observations in linking together reform with the rise and fall of a dynasty and in linking reform and renovation with patriotism.

In the long years of history, the Chinese people have suffered numerous setbacks and tragedies. These tragedies and havoc have brought suffering to our people but also have served as a boon to our people. Toughened by the steeling of these setbacks and tragedies, our people have become dauntless and unyielding. In the middle of the 1920's, Lu Xun brought up a presupposition: "If 'perchance' the imperialists have seized control of the great portion of China and only one or two provinces remain in our control, what shall we do?" He made no direct answer to this query except to cite the following historical episode: "After the fall of the Ming dynasty, it had no longer any territory under its control, but there were still certain people in hiding abroad intent on effecting the regime's restoration" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun" vol 3, p 174). It is true that the activities against the Qing Dynasty following the fall of Ming dynasty constituted merely a domestic racial problem and had no connection with activities against imperialist aggressions, but what Lu Xun meant to affirm was the arduous fighting spirit of the Chinese race. The people he mentioned as being "in hiding abroad, intent on restoring the old regime" were national heroes such as Zheng Chenggong, Zhang Huangyan, Zhu Zhiyu and others. Zheng Chenggong and his associates first continued their resistance against the Qing invaders in the southeastern coastal areas of the country following which they led their armies eastward across the high seas to our sacred territory Taiwan where they drove away the Dutch colonists. In so doing, they performed a meritorious deed in history, never to be obliterated in the struggle to protect and develop Taiwan. Their fighting spirit and illustrious accomplishments all along won Lu Xun's great admiration. When Lu Xun later taught in Xiamen University, he wrote a letter to Xu Guangping in which he said: "I pity myself for not being able to find anything appealing in natural beauty. I am not moved at all by beautiful scenery even on festive days. However, for quite a while, I cannot rid my mind of Zheng Chenggong's vestiges in Taiwan. Not far from my residence is a city wall said to have been built by Zheng" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 3, p 369). Xiamen lies along the coast and has beautiful sceneries, but what seemed to have attracted Lu Xun's mind was the vestiges of a patriot. These vestiges bear the testimony of history--they confirm a contemporary historian's saying that the Chinese race is a disaster-ridden race but is fully capable of withstanding disasters.

The patriotism of the Chinese people is hereditary and is continuously progressing. In the past 100 years, many brand-new anecdotes have been added to the longstanding tradition of our country. The period from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century was the darkest period in China's history but was also a memorable and glorious period in which the Chinese populace performed many sterling feats of patriotism. On the one hand, under

the conditions of savage aggression by imperialism and the corrupt rule of feudalism, the motherland suffered heavy losses in territory and sovereignty. The situation was so lamentable that it could well be described as "the gods groaned in despair and the demons danced in delight." However, on the other hand, across the length and breadth of the motherland, millions of people, all faithful descendents of China's past emperors of the legendary period, rose and shook the world with their repeated demonstrations of patriotism. It was precisely these unprecedentedly large-scale patriotic demonstrations that led the way to the growth of generations of patriots intent on reforms and of vanguards willing to sacrifice their lives for the sake of the revolution. To all these people, particularly those outstanding patriots at the time of the 1911 revolution, Lu Xun was passionately devoted. He highly eulogized Sun Yat-sen as a "complete" and lasting revolutionary. He gave a high evaluation of Sun's stupendous achievement of leading the Chinese people to overthrow the monarchical regime and establishing the capitalist republic. He expressed the view that the republic was Sun's "monumental work." Lu Xun's eulogy of Zhou Rong, whom he described as "pleading for the compatriots and for the motherland," fully affirmed the "enlightening" role played by Zhou's collection "The Revolutionary Army," in the 1911 revolution. He wrote: "Talking about influences, no amount of words can match the simple but straightforward collection 'The Revolutionary Army,' written by Zhou Rong, 'vanguard of the revolutionary forces'" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 1, p 221). In his writings, Lu Xun frequently referred to Qiu Jin, whom Sun Yat-sen eulogized as a "heroine," and warmly praised her for her poetic and fiction-like life of struggle and her patriotic feelings. The principal character eulogized in his fiction "Medicine" was precisely the type of hero more or less akin to Qiu Jin's life story. [HK090957] In addition, Shi Jianru, Xu Xilin, Tao Chengzhang and the revolutionary martyrs buried in the graves of Guangzhou's Huang Huagang were personages in Lu Xun's deep admiration and remembrance. He cited them as exemplary figures in training the younger generation. He wrote a special article, "Reminiscences of Huang Huagang," in commemoration of the Huang Huagang heroes and martyrs. In the article, he wrote: these patriotic warriors, "alive and dead, have brought happiness to every one of us." For the sake of the new birth of the motherland, they racked their brains and did their utmost in thought and deed and ultimately sacrificed their lives. "It was only after having been nourished by the spirit and flesh and blood of many martyrs that in China flowers and fruits of happiness, which had never been there before, could blossom forth." Painstakingly he warned and advised the younger generation not to "play with, or molest the flowers, or devour the fruits," but to propound the patriotic spirit of the revolutionary elders, and, "for the sake of the future generation," persist in the bringing up of a new crop of "flowers and fruits of happiness" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 3, pp 410-411). It is true that being capitalist revolutionaries these patriotic fighters could not escape the limitations of history and of class distinction. But "fighters after all are fighters" and one who takes a cautious and solemn view of history can hardly treat them with sarcastic comment. Lu Xun's evaluation of the patriotic fighters of the period of the 1911 revolution was in conformity with the spirit of historical materialism. His remonstrations and advice, as we read them today, still appear important and kind.

Since the Chinese working class and their vanguards, the CPC, mounted the political stage and became the leadership force of the various nationalities of

people, the traditional patriotism of the Chinese people has found a most worthy successor and has achieved full development. Historical facts have testified: The CPC members are in China's history the most mighty and most advanced and patriotic political group and they are truly the successors of the greatest patriot Sun Yat-sen and his comrades-in-arms. The CPC's revolutionaries of the elder generation were all in modern times the most outstanding patriots, counting from Li Dazhao to Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi, Zhu De and so on. Unfortunately, at the time of the rule of the KMT reactionary clique, in the eyes of those in power, a patriot was frequently taken to be a traitor, and vice versa. Lu Xun was greatly angered at this state of affairs. He often cited iron-clad facts to explain the original and real countenance of history. In his early years, Li Dazhao had been a big progressive advocate of democracy, harboring strong patriotic views. After becoming an adherent of Marxism, his patriotic ideas took on an even more scientific and revolutionary element and developed to the highest level of the era. Li's whole life was devoted to the struggle for a "New China." Unfortunately, this great patriot was killed by Zhang Zuolin in 1927. Lu Xun was greatly saddened by the event. In 1933, soon after the commemoration for Li Dazhao was held in Beijing, he fulfilled his promise of writing a preface for the book "collections of Shou Chang's Works." In the preface, after recollecting Li Dazhao's illustrious and revolutionary deeds of struggling for the motherland and for the people, he wrote: "I do not know what kind of crime the general had framed up for him. It could not have been far from such accusation as that he was endangering the republic." But in reality, in a short period of only 7 years the iron-clad facts were that the person who had lost China's four provinces was not Li Dazhao but was the general who had ordered Li's slaughter" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 4, p 524). Thus, the militarists who subsequently lost the country's sacred territory actually accused a patriot of being a "menace" to the state and Lu Xun used "iron-clad" evidence to refute and reverse the accusation. In 1936, Lu Xun, displaying the same class indignation of the righteous kind, employed similar tactics to refute the slanderous attacks launched by the Trotsky clique against Comrade Mao Zedong and other elder proletarian revolutionaries. In so doing, he affirmed the historical status of the CPC as the most advanced and the greatest patriotic political organization. At that time, Chen Zhongshan wrote Lu Xun a letter in which he accused the CPC Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong as "traitorous," and as "offering the revolutionary masses to the hangmen and the firing squad." He bragged about the "superior" theories of the Trotsky group. Right to the point, Lu Xun wrote back: "Your 'superior thinking' is certainly of a much higher quality than that of Mr Mao Zedong and his lot--so different that one is sky high while the other is down to earth.... Very unfortunately, this superiority is very much to the liking of the Japanese aggressors." Touching on Comrade Mao Zedong and other elder proletarian revolutionaries, Lu Xun was full of solemn and warm feelings. With dignity and self-pride, he wrote: "I am honored to take as comrades those who have shed their blood in the struggle for the survival of the Chinese people." Lu Xun's conclusion was definite and for sure: Members of the Trotsky group, "who were welcomed by the Japanese aggressors," were in fact the traitors while Comrade Mao Zedong and the other elder proletarian revolutionists "who had shed their blood in the struggle for the survival of the Chinese people" were in reality the most sincere and trustworthy patriots. Lu Xun's conclusion and the actual historical outcome were

completely alike. History has clearly demonstrated that the sincerity and accomplishment of the leadership personages of the CPC and their worthy sons and daughters have surpassed those of any class, individual, or political group. [HK090959] For the sake of China's independence and prosperity and for the sake of the liberation and emancipation of the Chinese people, these people, through the years, have persistently engaged in arduous struggles, shedding their blood or sacrificing their lives one after another. This is truly glorious for the CPC members and all those modern Chinese whom they take as their "comrades-in-arms."

Although Lu Xun was not a specialist versed in historical science, his evaluation of patriotic historical figures was beyond comparison by specialists in general.

One outstanding feature of Lu Xun's evaluation of patriotic historical figures is its high degree of revolutionariness. As a great revolutionist, Lu Xun was always opposed to the stand of "history for history's sake," "tender reminiscences of the past are frequently for the present" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 5, p 571). This applies to the reactionaries and the revolutionaries alike. Lu Xun's evaluation of patriotic historical figures was precisely to meet the needs of actual struggles. His praise of China's "backbone figures" in history was mainly intended to eulogize these Chinese backbone personages engaged in current struggles and also to refute the slanderous comments of the reactionaries who were saying that the "Chinese people had lost their confidence." Hence, after eulogizing the various patriotic historical figures, he continued with the assertion: "Even to this day, this kind of people are not at all rare in our midst. They have confidence, do not cheat other people and are endlessly engaged in struggle...to say that the Chinese people have lost their confidence may perhaps be applicable to a small portion of people. It would be slanderous to say that it applies to all" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 6, p 118). Different from the classroom scholars, what was most important in Lu Xun's mind was the present and future struggles; he meant to use patriotic tradition to arouse present people and to make use of past historical figures to wage war on traitors of the present time. This provides Lu Xun's evaluation with a bright battle color and enables it to engender a tremendous force in actual struggles.

Another outstanding feature of Lu Xun's evaluation of patriotic historical figures is its strictly scientific character. Lu Xun was anxious to combine together revolutionary character and scientific character and his evaluation was built on a basis of scientific understanding. Before he grasped Marxism, he had had a strong feeling toward history and he employed historical methods to analyze problems. His evaluation then was in conformity with historical realities. Since his comprehension of Marxism, his historical views of a materialist nature rendered his comments and evaluation more to the point and precise. However, he never tailored historical events to suit his own likes or dislikes. What was his commentary on Zhang Taiyan? At the time, the consensus of views among the revolutionary party members was: "Before the revolution, Zhang enjoyed a high reputation and everybody respected him as a sage and a gracious being. After the revolution, because he shamelessly sought personal gains, everybody looked at him as an animal" ("Min Yue Bao,"

16 May, 1912). But the matter was not as simple as that. The trend of Zhang Taiyan's political stand and thought was rather complex and ever-changing. Lu Xun employed a historical and materialist viewpoint to make a detailed analysis of Zhang's whole life. Before the revolution, Zhang was a revolutionary respected by the people. "But what was most important was first that he employed religion to foster faith and confidence, and to improve the morals of the people and second that he made use of the quintessence of Chinese culture to stir up the sense of belonging and to increase the warmth of patriotic feelings.... Unfortunately these stopped at the stage of being high and beautiful fantasies." After the revolution, he literally "left the populace and fell into dejection." Later, he even "took part in speculation and accepted presents and gifts." "However, this was only a flaw in white jade and did not indicate that he was unable to uphold his integrity in his later years" (Collected Works of Lu Xun, vol 6, pp 546-547). In other words, after the revolution, Zhang Taiyan never was an "animal." Before liberation, while Zhang could be respected as a "rare personage," his thought and political stand were heavily inclined to idealism. Although he was imbued with strong patriotic wishes and racial feeling, the "burden of feudalism" which he had to bear was too heavy and this accounted for his wavering stand on the road of democratic revolution. One of the basic principles adopted by Lu Xun in his assessment of all historical figures including the patriotic elements was never to indulge in excessive likes or dislikes but to adopt a scientific attitude and to insist on making concrete analyses based on class stand and on a historical standpoint. His insistence on this principle gave his assessment and evaluation a highly scientific character.

[HK091001] Another outstanding feature of Lu Xun's assessment and evaluation of patriotic historical figures was his linking together the eulogy of patriotism and propagation of internationalism. Lu Xun lauded patriotic people but as early as during the period of the 1911 revolution he no longer lauded those people who displayed a narrow form of patriotism. He refused to support those "patriotic people" who favored their own country's aggression on another country. He agreed with the view expressed by the Danish commentator Brandes who called the kind of patriotism which used force to molest other people as "animal patriotism." Lu Xun expanded this term and split up patriotism into "animal patriotism" and "human patriotism." He sighed: "Nowadays among those who talk about patriotism every day, it is indeed rare to find some who sincerely adhere to human patriotism and desist from animal patriotism" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun" vol 1, p 89). At a time when people could not free themselves from the bondage of a narrow brand of patriotism, this kind of sentiment was a rarity. After Lu Xun's transformation from revolutionary democracy to communism, an element of "Marxist internationalism" was injected into his thought and as a result his assessment or commentary of patriots of the different generations, particularly his assessment of CPC members, assumed a brand new pattern. He deeply felt that the patriotism of CPC members was built on the foundation of struggling for the good future of the motherland and of the people and was in line with the revolutionary interests of the world's peoples. Based on this understanding, Lu Xun accorded a lofty evaluation to Lenin and Stalin both of whom had shown their concern with China's revolution. At the same time he eulogized the Red Army commanded by Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De for "harboring good wishes for mankind and for China."

Lu Xun once said: "Only the great can understand great people" ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," vol 1, p 82). Naturally, Lu Xun's assessment of patriotic historical figures had certain limitations, but by and large he was extremely penetrating and far surpassed the rank-and-file research workers. The principal reason was that he himself was a "great man"--a great patriotic personage and follower of communism, and at the same time he was well versed in history and its contents. To review his writings helps in learning scientific methodology, arouses our patriotic sentiments, and urges us on to struggle for the realization of the four modernizations of the motherland.

CSO: 4005/615

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### STUDY OF EXISTING STATE OF LITERATURE, ART URGED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese Feb 2 83 p 5

[Article: "It is Necessary To Strengthen the Study of the Existing State of Literature and Art"]

[Text] The forum on theoretical criticism work held by the Chinese Literary Confederation points out that we must strengthen our study of the existing state of literature and art. Serious consideration should be given to this suggestion.

After the "gang of four" was smashed, good results have been attained in the study of the existing state of literature and art. However, it is still seen to be a weak link in the entire literary and art work. Many new conditions and new questions have emerged in literary and art creation and in the literary and art movement, but we have not adequately understood and studied the conditions. At present the literary and art front shoulders the important task of creating a new situation. The various fronts strive to create a new situation through shattering the old and establishing the new. How should literary and art work shatter the old and establish the new? How should we embark on creating a new situation? Toward which direction should we advance? The masses of people urgently require further improvement in literary and art creation. What should be improved and how should it be improved? All these questions should be scientifically and theoretically answered. We should start from the plane of the scientific theory of Marxism, sum up the long periods of positive and negative experiences in the history of proletarian literature and art in our country, sum up the new experiences of literary and art creation and all the literary and art work after the "gang of four" was smashed, attain a clear concept of the law of development of revolutionary literature and art, and find out the correct path for developing new socialist literature and art with national characteristics. This is an extremely important task. A new situation cannot be smoothly created in literary and art work without the support of a scientific theory.

In order to properly study the existing state of literature and art, we need to reinforce the establishment of the contingent. At present, commentators who study the existing state occupy a very small proportion in the entire literary and art theory contingent, and this is out of

proportion with their heavy task. This problem must be resolved in the reform of the literary and art system. The propaganda department and literary and art department must pay attention to the reinforcement of the organization and contingent, study the existing conditions, recruit and train a greater number of talented people, provide the necessary study and work conditions for the research staff and urge them to attain more good results. Theoretical workers must thoroughly grasp the basic theory of Marxism, strive to grasp historical and literary and art knowledge, resolutely plunge into the thick of life, carry out thorough and meticulous investigation and study and continuously raise their ideological and vocational level.

In order to do a good job in the study of the existing state of literature and art, we must resolutely implement the policy of letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend. At present, there is no strong atmosphere for the contention of the hundred schools of thought. Truths are established through debates and criticism of various opinions. Theory cannot develop without contention. We must encourage the theoretical workers to bring up ideas based on scientific research, boldly contend with one another, uphold truths and rectify errors and set up a good method of study. We must allow errors and rectification of errors, guarantee freedom in criticism and counter-criticism and the freedom of upholding one's opinions. Literary and art criticism must vigorously support positive things and seriously criticize negative things. Commentators must be able to perceptively discover and affirm newborn things and clearly recognize old things which emerge under a new cover.

The commentators are urged not to find fault with or boost up the works, but to praise the good points and criticize the bad points appropriately. There must be warm encouragement as well as serious criticism. The development of this work style will help the cause of socialist literature and art prosper.

9954

CSO: 4005/447

## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### REFORM IN MANAGEMENT OF PROFESSIONAL WRITERS ADVOCATED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Feb 83 p 5

[Article by Gao Guang [7559 0342], vice chairman of the Chekiang Literary Federation: "Some Ideas on Reforming the Management of Professional Writers"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out at the national meeting on the ideological and political work for staff and workers that the four modernizations could not be realized without reforms. It is the responsibility for all fronts, all regions, all departments and all units to carry out reforms. We must shatter all outdated conventions and old practices which obstruct our progress. We must examine and study the new conditions, solve the new problems, sum up new experiences and set up new regulations. Last year, the Chekiang Branch of the Chinese Writers' Association tried out a new method of recruiting professional writers who do not hold permanent positions or receive wages but who live on fees based on their publication contributions.

Through a thorough study of the documents of the 12th party congress and warm discussion on how to unfold literary creation, we deeply feel that the training of a newborn force and the reinforcement of the contingent of writers is an event of strategic significance for prospering creation. However, the actual conditions of Chekiang Writers' Association reveal many shortcomings in the present organization of professional writers, which restrict productivity in literary creation. It is not favorable toward the development of creativity or the reinforcement of the writers' contingent.

Firstly, there are very few permanent positions for professional writers, only four or five people. In accordance with the policy of streamlining organizations, it is very difficult to request an increase in the number of permanent positions for professional writers. On the other hand, a large number of middle-aged and young literary writers have emerged and some newborn forces have attained the standard of professional writers. We feel that we should strive to give the new literary writers opportunities for professional creation for a fixed period of time, so as to fully develop their literary abilities. However, a restricted staff organization is an obstacle to this rational demand.

Secondly, there are contradictions between professional writers, literary and art editors, publishers and organizational and administrative personnel in the present organization of professional writers. Professional writers enjoy a high social esteem and can devote all their efforts toward creation. They receive wages as well as remuneration for their writing. This affects the work enthusiasm of some editorial and publishing personnel who have creative abilities and certain organizational and administrative staff in the literary and art field.

Thirdly, although the lifelong professional status of writers and the system of "eating from a common pot" whereby writers receive wages have the advantages of guaranteeing the provision of food and clothing and sufficient creation time for writers, there is the shortcoming that the writers tend to become lazy because of the lack of pressure. The Party and the government are concerned for the writers and it is very important to create favorable conditions for writing for the writers. It is necessary to assert a certain pressure which urges the writers to rise in greater vigor. This helps the writers to actively plunge into the thick of life, strive to raise their ideological level, arduously temper their artistic techniques and write a greater number of good works.

In order to resolve the above contradictions, we have suggested the several measures of reforms below:

1. Try to recruit professional writers who are not on permanent staff, who do not receive wages and who live on their publication fees. These writers are individual mental workers who take literary creation as a profession and serve the people and socialism with their works. The Writers' Branch Association issues them with "writers'" identification cards and they are under the jurisdiction of the Writers' Branch Association. Administratively they are under the leadership of the relevant departments of the local government. In terms of census records and grain ration, the writers belong to the same locality as before so that they will not be divorced from the base of life. After their application has been approved by the Writers' Association, the writers may negotiate with their former unit. For three years they may keep their positions but do not receive any wages. This will ensure that they can still return and work in their original units if they find that writing is not a suitable career for them after three years. They can also resign from their original post. If they cannot take writing as their career in the future, they can find another job for themselves.

In order to provide for the livelihood of professional writers so as to ease the transitional period in which they do not receive wages and live on their publication fees, the Writers' Branch Association will provide writers with subsidies which are slightly higher than their former wages in the next two or three years and set up the writers' welfare funds operated by the people with public assistance so as to attend to the writers' medical care and welfare. The expenses involved when writers go out to gather facts in society will be paid as far as possible by the Writers' Branch Association. When they embark on long works, they may apply for loans out of the literary and art creation funds.

Requirements for professional writers: The freelance writers in this province have already published a considerable number of works of a relatively high quality. These have asserted certain influences on society. At present, they can basically support themselves with the remuneration received from writing. There are great potentials for creation with a good ideology and practice. This method was tried out in the mid-fifties. In the course of the enthusiastic discussion at the Writers' Association and Literary Federation regarding the creation of new conditions, some young freelance writers have put forth this suggestion. At the standing committee meeting of the provincial writers' branch association, this method was applauded by the majority of the comrades. From then on, the Writers' Branch Association has held forums especially for middle-aged and young freelance writers. A draft for this method was produced after enthusiastic discussion.

In the course of introducing this plan, we must clarify certain points in the Xinhua Press report published on the first page of RENMIN RIBAO in January this year concerning the reforms of the system of management of professional writers carried out by Chekiang Province. This report is not accurate in certain aspects. Firstly, in the headline of the report, the draft which is still in preparation is described as formally approved and carried out. Secondly, in the report, conditions which should apply to voluntary applicants only are stated to include all professional writers. This report has caused certain ideological disturbances among some professional writers.

2. Implement a contract system for literary and art creation. In 1982, the Writers' Branch Association has attained excellent results in the implementation of a contract system for literary and art creation on a trial basis. They have respectively signed writing contracts with ten freelance writers lasting from six months to a year. Consequently, by the end of the year, 12 medium length novels and two long novels were produced. The method of contract is: The three parties of the Writers' Branch Association, the writer and their unit voluntarily sign a writing contract so that the writers can leave their posts for a year or half a year and devote all their efforts toward writing. The writer's wages are paid by the Writers' Branch Association within this period. They return to their original work posts after they have finished their writing.

3. The professional writers also have to strictly implement the system of vacating their posts and retirement carried out by the government cadres. Theoretically, writers who devote all their lives to the cause of literary creation cannot speak of vacating their posts. However, owing to the organizational limitations, if the system of job vacation and retirement is not implemented, it is not favorable for the prospect of new writers who succeed the old writers. Moreover, after the writer has resigned from his job, he can still receive his former remuneration and he will not be hindered from continued engagement in literary creation, but he can vacate the limited posts to make room for the newborn forces.

4. We agree to Comrade Wang Mengtong's [3769 5536 0681] suggestion regarding the implementation of a rotation system of professional writers at fixed periods. The strong point is that editorial, publishing, organizational, administrative, teaching and guidance staff with writing abilities can concentrate on their writing activities for a certain period. Professional writers can also receive training in more aspects through their actual work and can thus understand life and literary creation more realistically.

5. Among the editorial, publishing, organizational, administrative, teaching and guidance staff engaged in literary and art work and staff on other fronts, those people near retirement age who have accumulated rich life experiences and have attained a certain standard of writing should be permitted to resign from their posts earlier so that they can engage in writing full time. This is a good method to make posts available for the reinforcement of the newborn forces.

6. Fight for a suitable increase in permanent posts for professional writers. There should be a system of rotation at fixed periods for newly established posts of professional writers and recently recruited professional writers.

The reform in the organization of professional writers is an arduous and complicated task which involves the entire system of literature and art and cannot be comprehensively and appropriately handled by any single organization, department, or region. The actual conditions of Chekiang show that it is necessary to carry out reforms without further delay. Our plans are not well drawn up and biases and errors are unavoidable. Despite the superficiality, we publish these impromptu ideas in the hope that they will arouse discussion in the literary and art circles in the whole country.

9954

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## SOCIOLOGICAL, EDUCATION, AND CULTURE

### EDUCATION, SCIENCE, INTELLECTUALS SAID KEYS TO MODERNIZATION

Shanghai HUADONG SHIFAN DAXUE XUEBAO (ZHEXUE SHEHUI KEXUE BAN) [JOURNAL OF EAST CHINA NORMAL UNIVERSITY (PHILOSOPHY AND SOCIAL SCIENCES EDITION)] in Chinese No 5, 30 Oct 82 pp 1-5

[Article by Shi Ping [2457 1627]: "Develop Education and Science, Bring the Role of Intellectuals Into Full Play"]

[Text] In his report to the 12th CPS National Congress, entitled "Usher in An Overall New Situation in Socialist Modernization," comrade Hu Yaobang repeatedly brought up the problems in education and science and those of the intellectuals. He regarded the problems in education and science as one of the three key links for achieving within 20 years the glorious strategic goal of economic development. He also regarded the development of education and science as a major condition for the building of socialism's material and spiritual civilizations, and he pointed out that universal education is a major prerequisite for building the two civilizations. In building socialism's spiritual civilization, intellectuals will be shouldering particularly heavy responsibilities. These are the correct conclusions drawn from the lessons and experiences of our nation having practiced socialism for more than 30 years, and they also conform to the correct conclusions of the laws of social development, which is of major significance.

#### (I)

Since the founding of the PRC over 30 years ago, the great successes that we have achieved in economic construction prove that the modernization of science and technology is indeed the key to modernizing industry, agriculture, and national defense. In industrial production we have seen the emergence of electric trains, the high production of hundreds of millions of tons of petroleum and billions of tons of coal per annum, the establishment of tens of thousands of hydroelectric power stations, the construction of world famous bridges over the Yangtze and Yellow Rivers, up to the manufacture of guided missiles, atomic and hydrogen bombs, and man-made satellites. Is this a deviation from the development of science and technology? In agriculture we not only successfully solved the problems of insufficient food and clothing for 500 million people during the initial post liberation period, but at present we are solving food and clothing problems for 1 billion people. There has been a considerable improvement in the standard of living of the peasantry throughout the country.

This was accomplished without increasing arable land, but what was relied on was a massive increase in agricultural production, and this increase in production was closely linked to the development of agricultural science and technology. Science impels the social forces of production to increase unendingly, and on this foundation culture and education develop accordingly. In brief, science and the social forces of production and science and national wealth develop correspondingly is an objective law that is independent of man's will. It not only manifests itself in a certain time and space but plays a role at all times and in all places in the history of humanity's social evolution.

Prior to the 16th century, the scientific and technological level of development of European nations was far inferior to that of China, and the level of development of the productive forces was also inferior. Later on, however, our nation gradually fell behind, one major cause being that the development of science was impeded. In the 16th century some nations in Europe began to make new advances and after approximately 100 years modern science came into being. The first industrial revolution occurred in the 1960's, and from this capitalism rapidly developed in these countries, the social forces of production increased greatly, and material wealth was rapidly amassed. At the same time in China, the emergence and development of modern science and industry were impeded as the result of thousands of years of being fettered by a feudal system and by the pursuit of a closed-door policy. The social forces of production developed slowly, so China was left far behind the ranks of the world's material production. Prior to the founding of new China, it was difficult to compare the social forces of production of our nation with those of the capitalist countries. In addition, China had suffered the aggressions and pillaging of imperialism for so long, the state became poorer and poorer, the national strength was exhausted, and the people had no means of livelihood. After the founding of new China, the socialist forces of production and the national economy bestrode the thousand li horse of socialist construction, advanced forward by leaps and bounds, and narrowed the large gap between China and some of the developed nations. In some areas we had already attained world predominance, but just when we began the comprehensive building of the socialist four modernizations the ten years of upheaval dragged the socialist forces of production and the national economy in the other direction, and the gap that had originally been narrowed was widened again. Presently we must once more narrow that gap and achieve the four modernizations by the end of this century. A key link is that science must still be developed.

## (II)

If science and technology are to be developed, education is the foundation, for without the development of education, science and technology cannot advance. Since a new generation of scientific and technological achievements are built upon the foundations of past science and technology, existing scientific knowledge must be mastered before scientific and technological inventions and products can appear. Education is the means for transmitting knowledge, and of the scientific knowledge that has already been passed on, education was mainly relied on to do so. Making education universal must be combined with raising its standards. Whatever the scientific and technological level of a nation, it must be aware of this, for making education universal is the foundation for

raising its standards, and standards must be raised to achieve breakthroughs in inventions and promote the universality of education. If science is to advance, education must be developed. The glorious scientific and technological successes that we have achieved since the founding of the PRC over 30 years ago were inseparable from the development of education. According to statistics, from 1949 to 1980, the number of our nation's primary schools has increased from 289,300 to 917,300, a 2.2-fold increase. Normal middle schools have increased from 4,266 to 118,377, a 2.7-fold [sic] increase, and normal universities have increased in number from 207 to 675, a 2.3-fold increase. Development successes have been large, but the rate is still unsatisfactory for the needs of construction. Compared with developed capitalist countries such as the U.S., Japan, West Germany, France, Canada, and other nations which have already made middle school education universal, China has yet to do so with the primary schools, and there are still a considerable number of illiterates. Approximately half of the middle school students in the U.S. and Japan go on to various universities, while only a small number of our students pursue higher education. Beginning in the Meiji period, Japan realized that reliance on education was the way to reform. In the last years of the Meiji period, Japanese teenagers had already accounted for over 95 percent of students in school. Only 30 or 40 years after the Meiji restoration, Japan defeated Russia and the great Qing Dynasty, and only 30 years after World War II Japan developed into an economic power. There were various causes and factors, but it cannot be said that emphasis on education was not a most significant factor. Comrade Zhou Yang said it well: regardless of the differences in the educational content between Japan and our nation, it is always worth learning the lesson that making universal the education and scientific knowledge of the people will in turn accelerate the advances made in industry, science, and technology.

We must devote major efforts to developing education, and we must adopt some important measures in accordance with the stipulations of strategic decisions. A prominent problem at present is the emphasis on investing in the development of intelligence. We must increase the proportion of the investment in education in the total investment of the national economic construction. Since the 1950's, this proportion has continuously been severely imbalanced. Not only has it not increased, it is frequently reduced. In comparison with each nation of the world, our country ranks last in investment in education. In addition to increasing the proportion year after year in the future, it would be practical to concentrate our efforts on solving some current, urgent problems in education, as was done with investments in agriculture. One example is the problem of school equipment. After some normal middle schools were changed to technical schools, they had to be equipped with the means for production practices. Improving the equipment of institutions of higher learning is most imperative, for they are directly involved in training people with professional scientific and technical skills. In recent years we have sent many people abroad to study. Many of them are quite capable of working in foreign laboratories and can come up with inventions, which commands admiration. After they return home, however, there is no way for them to utilize and improve upon the advanced science and technology that they have mastered because the schools are lacking the proper modernized facilities. This is a waste of talent. Modern science and technology advance with each passing day, and we must be aware of the severity and urgency of this problem and adopt decisive measures and solve it rapidly.

Another prominent problem in education is that the status of teacher training education must be raised. Most of our teachers come from normal colleges, and whatever the quality of teacher training, it is directly linked to the whole of the quality of education. For many years we did not accord proper status to teacher training, and in fact included it in comprehensive universities and colleges of science and engineering. The further result is that the monthly income of middle and primary school teachers and university teachers trained in new China is lower than that of workers, which results in the teaching profession's being looked down upon by society. The number of first rate middle school students who take the examinations for teacher training schools is lower than at other kinds of universities, with the direct result that the quality of education of any kind or at any level is lowered. At the national conference on teacher training comrade Hu Yaobang clearly pointed out that teacher training schools are "machine tools," and if the primary tool is of low quality, it can only lead to a low quality secondary tool. If this vicious cycle spreads to culture, science, and production throughout the nation, in over 30 years we will be swallowing this bitter fruit. At present, we have not yet fallen into this cycle, but among middle school teachers nationwide there are a considerable number who are unqualified or not fully qualified, which affects the foundation of higher education and the quality of qualified scientists and technicians and young workers. Thus, we must correct the ideology that looks down on teacher training education. The labor of teaching is complex labor, and the level of wages should be higher than simple labor. We must largely raise the social status of teachers. The status of teacher training schools should at least not be lower than other types of schools, and it would be equitable if the status were to be a little higher. If the political, economical, and social status and treatment of teachers are reasonably improved, it is inevitable that this would yield positive results in the building of civilization and democracy.

### (III)

The problems of the intellectuals are linked to those in education and science. In the more than 30 years since the founding of new China, we have to date achieved great success in regard to the problems of intellectuals. This is the actual basis on which we now acknowledge the problems of intellectuals and implement policies on them.

One, the socially subordinate nature of intellectuals has fundamentally changed. Although intellectuals were a part of each class in the old society, many or most of them served the ruling class. In the socialism of new China the exploiting class as a separate class has been eliminated, due to the fact that existing intrinsically within the majority or vast majority of intellectuals is the overt or latent potential for social advancement and in addition to the party's policy of educating, helping, and paying attention to bringing their roles into full play. In 1956 the party declared that of the intellectuals from the old society "most have already become working members of the nation, already serve socialism, and already are a part of the working class." (Zhou Enlai, "Report on the Problems of Intellectuals," delivered at the conference on the problems of intellectuals held by the CPC Central Committee on 14 Jan 1956).

Nevertheless, this factual, correct analysis and evaluation has been interfered with by the "Left" since 1957, and the party's policy on intellectuals has gradually strayed from the path of Marxism. Although in 1962 comrades Zhou Enlai and Chen Yi personally tried to correct this situation, they were unable to reverse the trend. In the unprecedented "Cultural Revolution" the extent of the errors of the "Left" reached their peak and intellectuals were viewed as targets of dictatorship and were ruthlessly persecuted. It wasn't until after the "gang of four" was smashed that comrade Deng Xiaoping reaffirmed at the 1978 national conference on science that intellectuals are a part of the working class and that order was brought out of the 20-year chaos in the policy on intellectuals and their problems.

Two, intellectuals' social structure has fundamentally changed. In old China intellectuals were a part of each separate class: the comprador bourgeoisie, landlord class, national bourgeoisie, petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry, working class, and so on. Viewed as an individual social stratum, the intellectual's social structure was quite complex, and in each sector of this structure was imbalance and instability. They went along with the changes of social class struggle but were struggling and changing within and without. A member of a certain sector could undergo a qualitative change and join another sector. This was the basic situation and particular feature of the intellectuals' internal structure in the old society (all exploiting classes that occupied a dominant position in society were like this). Under the socialist system the situation has radically changed. The comprador bourgeoisie and landlord classes have been eliminated, and the national bourgeoisie has been eliminated under the policy of redemption and transformation. As for the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie, originally they were not in a position of class antagonism with the working class. They were a part of the working people, and under the socialist system with the worker-peasant alliance of the CPC leadership as the foundation, they embraced the Marxist ideology of the working class as their own guiding ideology, and together with the working class have built socialism. Thus, it can be stated intrinsically that the intellectuals who in the old society belonged to the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie no longer exist, and, consequently, under the socialist system the formerly complex social structure of the intellectuals has been changed into a single component of the working class. Of course, reactionary elements still exist inside and outside the state due to the continued existence of the lingering influence of the exploiting class. Class struggle has not yet been completely eliminated, and this too can be reflected among intellectuals, namely, that the ideology of the exploiting class is left over in some of them to varying degrees. We are awaiting its further elimination. There can also be individuals who will sink into the dregs of society, but already this does not exist in the intellectuals' social structure.

Three, minority representation among working class intellectuals has fundamentally changed. In old China the ranks of intellectuals did not reflect minority representation. National minority intellectuals were few, and national minorities with small populations were without intellectuals or those of middle rank (equivalent to senior middle school graduates). As for high ranking intellectuals, they were even more difficult to find, and even some medium population minorities did not have intellectuals of this rank. This was the result

of national and class oppression by the ruling classes in the age old society, which forced upon the oppressed classes a downright obscurantist policy. Even many rulers were educated, certainly not to mention being able to master modern science and technology. After liberation, the party paid full attention to training intellectuals from each minority nationality. It developed primary and secondary education in minority nationality regions and also established a group of institutions of higher learning that included ten minority institutes. The nation's key universities have minority nationality students. According to 1980 statistics for schools at all levels throughout the country, the number of minority nationality students in school has already reached 9.7 million, a 2.8-fold increase over that of 1951, among which college students increased over 19-fold. Up to 1979 more than 97,000 college students had been trained at the ten minority institutes throughout the country, and up to 1980 the total number of minority nationality teachers reached over 460,000. In the Nei Mongol Autonomous Region the Nei Mongol population is over two million, and in 1981 the number of students in schools approached 500,000, among which were over 160,000 normal middle school and secondary vocational school students and over 3,000 college students. The situation is developing rapidly. Other minority nationalities with rather large populations have shown similar development, and there are already some schools that can match the level of Han schools. National minority intellectuals are coming forth in large numbers and on the whole minority representation is already reflected in the ranks of the intellectuals.

Four, the number of intellectuals has greatly increased. In old China they could not grow in number due to the constraints of the social system and because the level of the social forces of production was low and developed slowly. In addition, the ruling class did not need many intellectuals, so they did their utmost to prevent them from growing in number. The ruling class was concerned that there could be more of them, for once they acquired knowledge they would easily grasp the truth of social development, recognize the nature of reactionary rule, seek refuge in the revolutionary class and revolt against that reactionary rule. Thus, to a certain extent the reactionary ruling class feared the intellectuals and inevitably smothered the growth of their ranks by using every possible means. Under the socialist system this situation is completely different. The proletariat has always respected and fought for the intellectual ranks. In the war of resistance against Japan period comrade Mao Zedong stated that the struggle for the victory of the revolution was dependent upon two ranks: the cultural ranks (namely, the intellectuals) and the militarized ranks (namely, the armed forces of the Chinese people at various levels). Later on, the two ranks would unite, grow in unprecedented strength, and struggle to achieve victory. After liberation this policy continued to develop. In addition to the continued uniting of intellectuals from the old society, major efforts were devoted to training a new generation for Socialism, namely, a generation of intellectuals of the working class. This enabled their ranks to grow rapidly from a few million to the present number of around 25 million, and their numbers continue to grow. Along with the development of the quantity and quality of the intellectuals, their social status has been raised to an unprecedented level.

Five, attention must be given to utilizing intellectuals and bringing their roles into full play in each phase of the socialist construction. Many of our party's leading comrades have attached much importance to the status and roles of the intellectuals. After Premier Zhou Enlai passed away, public figures from the cultural, educational, and scientific communities in various ways grieved over his passing and cherished his memory with heartfelt emotion and the utmost respect, which was a demonstration of his boundless love and concern for the intellectuals shown throughout his life. In the ten years of upheaval Zhou Enlai, himself in a very dangerous situation, stood by and encouraged Li Siguang [2621 0934 0342] and other comrades to overcome difficulties and keep up their scientific research. This gave the intellectuals boundless strength and they achieved great success on every front. The major successes achieved by the vast intellectuals bears out to us this important principle: a socialist society is composed of the three basic parts of the workers, peasants, and intellectuals, and that in building socialism the main dependable strength has been in the past, is now in the present, and will be in the future the workers, peasants, and the intellectuals.

Since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, the series of theoretical, ideological, and policy errors that emerged in regard to the problems of intellectuals have been corrected. The correct policy has been reaffirmed and will be unendingly perfected while it is being carried out. Intellectuals are extensively being put in important positions, and the Party Central Committee has put forth the policy of making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent. Now that it is being energetically carried out, more and more intellectuals are being promoted to leadership posts. Intellectuals from scientific, cultural, and technical circles accounted for a considerable proportion of the delegates to the 12th Party Congress, and personnel in specific fields and specialists elected to Central Committee at the party congress were also much more numerous than at the previous session. Leaders of the Central Committee have already specialized and mastered intellectual work. The policy and guideline on intellectuals that were formulated by the 12th Party Congress will rapidly be implemented nationwide and the intellectuals will gain the recognition and utilization that they deserve. Nevertheless, we must still be aware of existing problems in society and among one sector of our comrades where there is still a lack of sufficient knowledge of the problems of the intellectuals. They do not recognize or hardly recognize that intellectuals are part of the working class, and they do not recognize or hardly recognize the major status and roles that knowledge and intellectuals have in the socialist construction. Therefore, in their actual work their lack of support and cooperation creates some difficulties for implementing the policy on intellectuals. We must do painstaking work to bring these comrades around.

Education, science, and intellectuals are three interrelated issues. Education is the foundation, science is the key, and at the core are the problems of qualified personnel. Education must be done by people, science must rely on people to engage in assiduous study, but in the final analysis we are faced with the problems of the intellectuals. We must resolutely and energetically

carry out the policy on intellectuals that was formulated by the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee. We must get rid of all biases against intellectuals, not pay any attention to them and not make use of them. We must guard against those who do as they please, who are unwilling to listen to the correct views and proposals of the intellectuals, who as members of leading bodies do not put into effect the requirements of "making the cadre ranks more revolutionary, younger in average age, better educated and professionally more competent" that are repeatedly emphasized by the Central Committee, and who will not, under possible conditions, improve the living and working conditions of the intellectuals, particularly the middle-aged ones. Otherwise, we will succumb to the trends of narrow egalitarianism, not being able to accomplish anything, and other various mistaken ways of doing things. Our work on education, science, and intellectuals will greatly expand in the wake of removing these obstacles.

In his report to the 12th Party Congress comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that "because of being fettered by 'leftist' ideology and the concept of small scale production, the erroneous ideas of looking down on education, science, and culture and discriminating against intellectuals have existed universally within the party for some time and have severely hindered our nation's building of material and spiritual civilizations. In recent years we have striven to eliminate these ideas, and we have resolved to strengthen gradually cultural construction and change the conditions of unsuitability of culture and economic development. We must strive to implement the party's policy on intellectuals, which will cause the entire party and all of society to recognize that intellectuals, workers, and peasants alike are our dependable strength for the building of socialism. Moreover, to the best of our abilities we must create the conditions that will enable the vast numbers of intellectuals to have peace of mind and have their enthusiasm aroused so they can contribute their efforts for the people." This paragraph has profound theoretical and major practical significance, and it will guide our action from now on. We must indeed strive to accomplish what Comrade Hu Yaobang has instructed. This will enable us to do a much better job in the work on education, science, and intellectuals, and will bring into full play their great roles in achieving the glorious goal of the socialist modernization. The long 60-year history of our nation's revolution and construction has proven that any time the party's policy and practice on intellectuals are correct, the strength of education and science exerts itself well and the cause of revolution and construction forges rapidly ahead. When the party's policy and practice on intellectuals stray from the course of Marxism, the strength of education and science cannot be fully brought into play and the cause of revolution and construction suffers setbacks and defeats. We must bear deeply in mind this law and the lessons learned from experiences.

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